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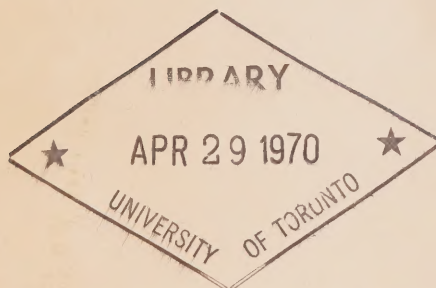


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Canada *723m*
Report of the
Royal Commission on
Bilingualism and
Biculturalism

Book IV The Cultural Contribution
of the
Other Ethnic Groups



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Report

v. 4

1967

Report of the Royal Commission
on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
Volume 4

Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism



To His Excellency
The Governor General in Council

We, the Commissioners appointed
as a Royal Commission, beg to submit
to your Excellency
Volume 4 of our Final Report

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Ottawa, October 23, 1969



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It would be presumptuous for us to try to study all the questions raised by the existence in Canada of "other ethnic groups," that is those whose ethnic origin is neither French nor British, in a single volume. Rather, we shall concentrate on examining the part played by these groups in the country's history and the contribution they make to Canadian life.

We are aware of the difficulty of this task. It is not easy—if possible—to distinguish clearly between an individual's cultural contribution resulting from his membership in a cultural group and his contribution resulting from deliberate integration with one of the two official linguistic communities. An individual's activity is often doubly motivated—by a desire to retain the cultural heritage of his forebears and a desire to feel that he is participating in the development of his adopted country. Should we interpret "the contribution made by the other ethnic groups" to mean the sum of the individual contributions, or the acceptance by Canadians as a whole of certain cultural characteristics that belong to a particular group? These are some of the basic questions, to which we cannot claim to have found final answers.

Hopefully, in the near future the field of sociological research in Canada will be enlarged to include a systematic study of such questions. There are historical essays and numerous monographs on one group or another, but very few attempts have been made to consider these problems as a whole. The Commission carried out research on various aspects of the ethnic question in Canada, and we have made use of these studies along with the information available in the various general and special studies at our disposal.¹ Our regional public hearings and the briefs we received have also been most useful. However, the fact remains that we have not been able to study these questions as fully as they deserve, and we admit that certain parts of this Book are far from complete. As a result, although it was prepared with considerable care, this Book may leave some readers unsatisfied. Rather than yield to facile generalizations, we have chosen to cast our Book within the perspective of our terms of reference, and have studied the cultural contribution

¹ See below for a Bibliography of the works consulted.

made by the other cultural groups by examining the patterns of their integration, as groups or individuals, into the life of the country.

The Introduction discusses certain concepts basic to an understanding of the Book and defines our use of certain terms; Part 1 gives an historical outline of the various phases of immigration to Canada; Part 2 considers the economic, political, and social role of the non-British, non-French cultural groups; in Part 3 we review their language patterns, education, the media of communications, and arts and letters. The Book includes 16 recommendations, and an appeal in the Postscript for further research on ethnic questions. The appendices contain the Commission's terms of reference, and much of the relevant statistical data on which this Book is based. Finally, the bibliography contains the titles of works used in the preparation of the *Report*, which readers may wish to consult for further information.

1. The terms of reference instructed the Commission "to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, *taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution.*"¹ The Commission was further directed "to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of the country and of *the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures.*" The two passages in italics call attention to the key terms of our mandate concerning the "other ethnic groups." The subject of this Book, the fourth of our *Report*, is the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada."

2. It will be noted immediately that while the terms of reference deal with questions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, they do so in relation to the basic problem of bilingualism and biculturalism, from which they are inseparable, and in the context of the coexistence of the Francophone and Anglophone communities. Also, the terms of reference do not call for an exhaustive study of the position of those of non-British, non-French origin, but rather an examination of the way they have taken their place within the two societies that have provided Canada's social structures and institutions. We will look at their contribution to Canadian life, and especially to the enrichment that results from the meeting of a number of languages and cul-

¹ See Appendix I for the full text of the terms of reference.

A country
of heavy
immigration

tures. This contribution is seen, within the Canadian reality, in the active participation of those whose mother tongue is neither French nor English in various facets of community life. The resulting exchange of values—particularly those relating to language and culture—is beneficial to the country provided that it is carried out in a spirit of understanding and with a view to mutual enrichment.

3. Canada, like the United States, is a country of heavy immigration and can be called an “open” country. Its demographic make-up therefore differs from that of older European countries—such as Spain, Germany, or Poland—where one generation succeeds another with no substantial change as a result of waves of immigrants.

4. Canada, a vast territory inhabited in the beginning by Indians and Eskimos,¹ was first colonized by the French, beginning early in the 17th century, and then by the British. Late in this century, immigrants of different ethnic origins began to arrive; variations in the later flow of immigrants almost always depended on political and economic conditions. The first Germans arrived towards the end of the 17th century. One of the first Jews to come to Canada was Aaron Hart, who settled in Montreal in 1759. In the last half of the 18th century, among other immigrants, two Poles whose names were to become familiar came to Canada: Dominique Barcz around 1750 (his name was later spelled “Bartzsch” and “Debartzch”) and Auguste-François Globenski in 1776. After 1870, the Danes, Dutch, Icelanders, and others made their way to the prairies in ever-increasing numbers. In 1891, Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypiw symbolically initiated Ukrainian immigration to Canada. Even these few examples demonstrate that Canada’s population of non-British, non-French origin, often termed “New Canadians,” has a long history.

5. Immigration continues today with far-reaching effects on the two main linguistic communities, and the population of Canada is still undergoing changes whose future extent it is impossible to foresee with any certainty. It is highly desirable that newcomers to Canada receive full and clear information about their new country. It is not enough to assure an immigrant work and material comfort; he must also be made aware of certain fundamental principles that will bear upon his citizenship in his adopted country. In particular, he should know that Canada recognizes two official languages and that it possesses two predominant cultures that have produced two societies—Francophone and Anglophone—which form two distinct communities within an overall Canadian context.

¹ Since the terms of reference contain no mention of Indians and Eskimos, we have not studied the question of Canada’s native population. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction (Ottawa, 1967), §§ 21-3.

6. On the other hand, being Francophone or Anglophone does not necessarily mean that one is of French or British origin. Immigrants, whatever their ethnic or national origin or their mother tongue, have the right and are at liberty to integrate with either of the two societies. Those of French and British origin—who have the definite advantage of having colonized Canada—share with all Canadians the rights and obligations arising from the fundamental duality of Canada, as it should be, in the name of equality and the democratic spirit. The process of integration, which contributes to the development of the two societies, should therefore be guided by three conditions: the good of the individual, the good of the society he chooses, and the good of the country as a whole.

Integration
and the two
societies

7. Every Canadian should be able to enjoy all his natural and civil rights, within one of the two societies. Those of neither French nor British origin should have the same opportunities as citizens who belong to the two societies by birth. In keeping with the spirit of our times, the process of integration should be equally beneficial to the receiving society and to the individual joining it. The individual must have complete freedom of choice in his integration; the receiving society must, through its institutions, assure him equal opportunities for personal fulfilment.

8. Integration, in the broad sense, does not imply the loss of an individual's identity and original characteristics or of his original language and culture. Man is a thinking and sensitive being; severing him from his roots could destroy an aspect of his personality and deprive society of some of the values he can bring to it. Integration is not synonymous with assimilation. Assimilation implies almost total absorption into another linguistic and cultural group. An assimilated individual gives up his cultural identity, and may even go as far as to change his name. Both integration and assimilation occur in Canada, and the individual must be free to choose whichever process suits him, but it seems to us that those of other than French or British origin clearly prefer integration.

Integration and
assimilation

9. We have said that there must be a free choice; but it is not easy for members of the other cultural groups to choose between the Francophone and the Anglophone societies. The economic factor exercises an important influence and the English language, with its unquestionable dominance in North America tips the scale strongly in its favour. Since economic, social, and linguistic factors all play a part, the Francophone community, being economically weaker than the Anglophone, cannot easily attract immigrants. This is evident in Montreal and elsewhere in Canada. Because of this imbalance between the two societies, most members of non-British, non-French

Integration and
the imbalance in
Canadian society

groups gravitate almost instinctively to the Anglophone side. The repercussions of this are felt in many fields, some of which lie within provincial jurisdiction, particularly in social and educational spheres. We caution readers against forming the impression, in reading this Book, that the Francophone group is on an equal footing with the Anglophone; in fact its position is inferior in all sectors in Canada, and in a number of sectors in Quebec.

10. During our public hearings, we were told a number of times, in Quebec and also in certain western cities, that it is possible for an immigrant to integrate with both the Francophone and the Anglophone societies at once and with equal satisfaction. We should like to believe this is so, but in fact such cases are exceptional. Those who make such claims appear to have in mind the mastery of the two official languages rather than a two-fold integration. It is a fact that members of non-British, non-French cultural groups, or at least most members, tend to accept the Canadian duality with reluctance, preferring by far a concept which could be designated as simply "Canadian." When they must choose between the two societies, with all that the choice implies, they lean quite naturally towards the stronger, namely the Anglophone.

Acculturation

11. The process of integration goes hand in hand with what anthropologists call "acculturation."¹ Anyone who chooses Canada as his adopted country adopts a new style of life, a particular kind of existence. This phenomenon is easily visible in the immigrant's experience in the work world, in his social contacts with other people, in the schools, where children acquire a major part of their preparation for life, and in all his contact with other citizens and public institutions. In office and factory, train and plane, in court and Parliament, the process of acculturation can be seen, despite the obstacles facing an individual as he becomes acquainted with his new environment, in which he is exposed to so many influences. Acculturation is the process of adaptation to the environment in which an individual is compelled to live as he adjusts his behaviour to that of the community.

12. Acculturation is inevitable in a multi-ethnic country like Canada, and the two main societies themselves are open to its influence. The integration of immigrants into the life of the country, with the help of its institutions, is surely the road to their self-fulfilment. But in adopting fully the Canadian way of life, sharing its advantages and disadvantages, those whose origin is neither French nor British do not have to cast off or hide their own culture. It may happen that in their determination to express their desire to live fully in this mode, their culture may conflict with the customs of their adopted society. But

¹ See *ibid.*, § 41 for a discussion of this term.

Canadian society, open and modern, should be able to integrate heterogeneous elements into a harmonious system, to achieve "unity in diversity."

13. We have already stressed in our General Introduction the danger of using ethnic origin as the basis for a simplistic distinction between the two "founding peoples" and the members of "other ethnic groups."¹ On the basis of such a distinction, the members of non-British, non-French cultural groups may feel that they are denied access to the country's spheres of influence, or that they are considered "second-class citizens." We repeat that we accept the words "race" and "people" only in their traditional sense—meaning a national group, with no biological significance—and we prefer to emphasize the facts of language and culture rather than the concepts of "race," "people," or even "ethnic group."

Ethnic origin and
"ethnic group"

14. What counts most in our concept of an "ethnic group" is not one's ethnic origin or even one's mother tongue, but one's sense of belonging to a group, and the group's collective will to exist. Ethnic origin, be it French, British, German, Italian, or any other category implies only biological affiliation and ancestry; an individual's loyalty to a group should, as we have said before, depend far more on his personal identification with it. To stress ethnic origin as a basic principle for shaping society would create closed groups based on accidents of birth. An "ethnic group" is consequently much more than a statistic based on one's ethnic origin; much more than the total number of individuals of the same origin; it is a force which draws its vitality from its members' feeling of belonging to the group.

15. In Canada, where some 30 ethnic origin categories are identified by the 1961 census,² the position of the various cultural groups is far from clear; in fact it is very complex, especially if we are attempting an objective study of their will to exist. Some groups draw together and develop, while others break up and disperse. For example, many Canadians of German and Dutch origin no longer have any connection with the German or Dutch cultural groups. On the other hand, a Canadian of Ukranian origin whose family has been in Canada for three generations and who no longer speaks his ancestral language, or of Jewish origin who speaks neither Yiddish or Hebrew, may participate with great enthusiasm in the activities of his respective cultural group. Measuring the vitality of any cultural group by taking as a criterion the individual's sense of belonging to a particular culture is as difficult as determining the extent of the group's integration with one of the two societies.

The Canadian
situation

¹ *Ibid.*, §§ 4-15.
² See Table 2.

16. According to the 1961 census, the Canadian population was distributed by ethnic origin categories as follows: 44 per cent were of British extraction, 30 per cent of French extraction, and 26 per cent of various other ethnic origins.¹ These figures may be useful in providing information on the ethnic background of the Canadian population, but they can also lead to misinterpretation if it is concluded from this evidence that there are two classes of citizens in Canada. We have rejected, for moral and practical reasons, a concept of the Canadian population based on ethnicity. It would be both illogical and discriminatory to see the two founding peoples as a privileged caste, transmitting their heritage from father to son, with the "other ethnic groups" forming an inferior order. It would also be inaccurate to characterize one of these groups, simply on the basis of ethnic origin, and ignoring other equally important factors such as a sense of belonging and a will to exist as a group. In short, one must not confuse ethnic origin and ethnic group.

17. In spite of these statistics, it would be difficult to say exactly how many Canadians identify themselves with the cultural groups corresponding to their ethnic origin, whether they arrived in Canada recently or long ago. No one can tell exactly how many individuals have integrated with either the Francophone or Anglophone society, or how complete the process of integration has been. It is also impossible to determine how strong an individual's identification remains with his ancestral language and culture. Each of these two phenomena—integration with one of the dominant societies and affiliation with the original culture—exists to some degree in both individuals and groups. The situation is further complicated by such factors as the generation gap, intermarriage between members of different cultural groups, geographic distribution, and other social and economic factors.

The will to
exist of
cultural groups

18. With these reservations, we can still state that there are a number of cultural groups in Canada with a clear sense of identity. They want, without in any way undermining national unity, to maintain their own linguistic and cultural heritage. They have their own associations, clubs, parishes, and religious organizations; they maintain their own schools and express their collective views through their own press. Some have formed highly active organizations—for example, the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Canadian Polish Congress. These organizations act as spokesmen for the group, may use the group's ancestral language, and create, as far as possible, a climate propitious to the maintenance of the group's own culture. To deny their existence would be to shut one's eyes to the Canadian reality. The

¹ The question asked in the census to determine ethnic origin was: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?"

fear that their growth might foreshadow the balkanization of Canada perhaps had some foundation 50 years ago. Today such a thing is out of the question. Although the last great wave of immigration to Canada was fairly recent, only 1 per cent of the Canadian population speaks neither English nor French.

19. When an established population is joined by waves of newcomers, a human problem results and Canadians have not always resolved this problem with the greatest generosity. A country like Canada must admit diversity within unity, show itself hospitable, and refuse to tolerate any kind of discrimination. Its citizens are called upon to live side by side with people whose surnames, accents, traditions, and attitudes may differ from their own. They cannot be told that they are taking away the livelihood of other Canadians. Some have been here for many years; others, more recent arrivals, must learn one—and sometimes both—of the official languages, earn their living (often at jobs that do not suit them), find a place for themselves in their new environment, and adopt new customs; in short, they must adapt themselves to their new country. We have been told of many signs of hostility towards immigrants and even towards Canadians of various ethnic origins whose ancestors arrived in Canada two or three generations ago. Yet some Canadians inflict this totally undeserved suffering upon others. It is particularly deplorable when it occurs in schools, not only because the victims are children, but also because of the risk of implanting long-lasting prejudices in other children. We do not believe that such behaviour is common; on the contrary, we feel that xenophobia has diminished in Canada. But a few cases of this kind of injustice are enough to spoil otherwise harmonious relations. Moreover, there are forms of discrimination that are too subtle to be controlled by law, but that are none the less damaging to their victims, sometimes seriously so. An individual—or a group—who finds himself ostracized must either withdraw within his own cultural group or be prepared to fight this type of injustice.

Discrimination

20. The whole topic of the non-British, non-French cultural groups raises great difficulties of semantics. Terms such as, “other ethnic groups,” “New Canadians,” and “the Canadian mosaic” are often used in reference to the “ethnic” question in Canada. The adjective “ethnic” is ambiguous at best, and often appears to be more or less synonymous with “foreign.” The phrase “the other ethnic groups,” which is used in the terms of reference, involves less risk of misinterpretation because it implies that Canada’s two dominant groups, the French and British, are also “ethnic” groups. We have already pointed out that when we speak of the Anglophone group or the Francophone group, or of any group, how misleading an ethnic attribution can be. The sense of

Semantic problems

belonging is the determining factor. Any term which implies "foreignness," such as "New Canadian," is not only misleading but incorrect when it applies to a person whose forebears arrived in Canada 50 or 100 years ago. The idea of the "Canadian mosaic" is a picturesque and appealing metaphor and may describe the ethnic diversity of a country stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but it does not really provide a satisfactory designation for the sociological or cultural phenomenon in question.

A "third force"

21. In the last few years, attempts have been made to emphasize the importance of the non-British, non-French cultural groups by using the terms "third force" or "third element" to embrace all such groups. Since, in 1961, 26 per cent of the Canadian population was of neither French nor British ethnic origin, these terms have been used by some to distinguish this section of the population from the Anglophone and Francophone sections. This concept is too simplistic to reflect adequately the Canadian reality for it encompasses vast numbers of people whose only common feature is not being of either British or French ethnic origin. Can the aspirations of those of Chinese origin in Vancouver be amalgamated with the aspirations of those of Ukrainian origin in Winnipeg? What are the tendencies among people of Dutch or German origin to integrate? How extensive is assimilation among those of Scandinavian origin? How strong, in fact, is the will to exist on the part of certain apparently well-organized groups? The other cultural groups are scattered all across the country, and not one of them—even the biggest and most active—represents as much as 20 per cent of the population of any of the ten provinces.¹ While some cultural groups are concentrated in considerable numbers in Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver, and account for as much as 10 per cent of the population in certain western cities, they are not sufficiently concentrated to contemplate the institution of other official languages, or the expansion of the concept of two societies to include four or five. It is clear that this "third force" does not exist in Canada in any political sense, and is simply based on statistical compilations. All the available evidence indicates that those of other languages and cultures are more or less integrated with the Francophone and Anglophone communities, where they should find opportunities for self-fulfilment and equality of status. It is within these two societies that their cultural distinctiveness should find a climate of respect and encouragement to survive.

¹ In 1961, Canadians of German origin accounted for 17 per cent of the population in Saskatchewan, 14 per cent in Alberta, and 10 per cent in Manitoba. Those of Ukrainian origin represented 11 per cent of the population in Manitoba, 9 per cent in Saskatchewan, 8 per cent in Alberta, and 2 per cent in British Columbia. See also Appendix II, Tables A-3—A-22.

22. Consequently, we would rather regard the "other ethnic groups" as cultural groups. Their role in Canadian society, seen in this light, has been our principal concern in the preparation of this Book. Fortunately their cultural contribution, stressed by our terms of reference, corresponds to the sociological facts. In our General Introduction, we examined the different meanings of the word "culture." We set aside both excessively broad definitions and those that limit the word to its strictly humanistic sense and settled on a definition that is not restricted exclusively to creative works. For us, "culture is a way of being, thinking, and feeling. It is a driving force animating a significant group of individuals united by a common tongue, and sharing the same customs, habits, and experiences."¹ It is a style of living made up of many elements that colour thought, feeling, and creativity, like the light that illuminates the design of a stained-glass window. This definition is applied essentially to the two dominant cultures of Canada, those of the Francophone and Anglophone societies; to a certain degree it also fits the other cultures in this country, particularly if they have brought enrichment to one of the two dominant cultures and continue to flourish and benefit through their integration with one of the two societies. Thus, streams empty into a river and their waters mix and swell the river's flow. For a group as well as an individual, culture cannot be measured by the pound.

"Cultural
contribution":
an overall view

23. Our analysis will examine the following questions: to what degree have Canadians whose origin is neither French nor British integrated with Francophone or Anglophone society? To what degree do they remain attached to their original cultures and languages? This procedure is intended only to help distinguish the subtleties of the problem under consideration. There are those who are perfectly integrated with one of Canada's two main societies and who are at the same time profoundly attached to the language of their forbears—even if they are not able to speak it in some cases—and who wholeheartedly support the culture that goes with it. However, there are no statistics on which to base an accurate estimate of such cases. Given our present knowledge, we must be satisfied with approximations. In effect, it is nearly impossible to officialize culture, which is made up of varied influences and expressions which depend on the individual as much as on the group.

"Cultural
contribution":
a sociological
view

24. For many years immigrants of widely differing origins have been taking an active part in the development of the country, particularly in western Canada. Here the cultural contribution to Canadian

"Cultural
contribution":
an historical
view

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 38.

life on the part of people of other than French or British origin first became apparent. Each year, as their numbers have increased and they have become better integrated, they have brought their strength, skills, and traditions to this country. Particularly since the end of World War II, immigrants from different parts of the world, representing different cultures, have been arriving in great numbers. They include teachers, doctors, engineers, and artists. They contribute experience acquired over long years of study and practice to Canadian life. Their energies benefit universities, hospitals, factories, conservatories, laboratories—every field where society is being built. Society shares the fruits of these labours and discovers in the process that these newcomers have their own traditions. Their distinct characteristics may be difficult to measure but are nonetheless valid cultural influences.

Cultural
heritage

25. Nothing should prevent those of other than French or British ethnic origin from keeping their attachment to their original culture once they have been integrated into Canadian life. This should be encouraged, for society as a whole can only benefit from it. However, to those Canadians of the Anglophone and Francophone societies who consider such affiliation only a pleasant manifestation of traditional folklore which, for example, lends a touch of quaintness to the celebration of Christmas or Easter, we wish to say that this concept is quite out of touch with reality. A person's original culture affects him deeply, and often over several generations; there are deep personal attachments no one can explain, customs firmly rooted in a man's being. What happens to those who have left their mother country and adopted another? Having arrived in Canada, they can appreciate more keenly all they had to leave behind in their country of origin. On contact with new values and new customs, their cultural heritage assumes greater value in their eyes. That heritage is composed of a variety of ideas, feelings, and artistic expressions, and folklore is only one aspect of it.

Facing
biculturalism

26. Among those of non-British, non-French origin, some accept official bilingualism without hesitation but categorically reject biculturalism. They consider Canada to be a country that is officially bilingual but fundamentally multi-cultural. In reply to this objection we wish to repeat that "in our view the term 'biculturalism' covers two main realities. The first is the state of each of the two cultures, and the opportunity of each to exist and flourish. The second is the coexistence and collaborations of these two cultures. . . ." ¹ On the other hand, our terms of reference mention the "basically bicultural nature of our country and the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures." It is thus clear that we must not overlook Canada's cultural diversity,

¹ *Ibid.*, § 46.

keeping in mind that there are two dominant cultures, the French and British. It is in this perspective, that human relations attain more significance through encounter, collaboration, and enrichment, that we shall study the contribution of various other cultures to the life of the country.

27. Culture and the language that serves as its vehicle cannot be dissociated. Language allows for self-expression and communication according to one's own logic. The vitality of the different languages spoken in Canada, other than French or English, varies from one cultural group to another, and even within these groups, where many people speak their ancestral language poorly or not at all. On the whole, however, those who care about their cultural heritage also care about their ancestral language. Here again, the phenomenon of cultural identification and a feeling of belonging are firmly rooted.

Culture and
language

28. We have already stressed the ties between language and culture. In Book I of our *Report*, on the official languages, we proposed a new version of section 133 of the British North America Act, whose subsection 5 would read:

Nothing in this section shall be taken to diminish or restrict the use, as established by present or future law or practice, of any other language in Canada.¹

This text is followed by a commentary that underlines certain basic ideas.² In it we state, in particular, that the guarantees accorded the official languages—English and French—should not in any way restrict the right to use other languages, whether such rights already exist or might be established in the future. Other languages are in fact used in Canada in personal relations and group activities. It is perfectly reasonable that they should be taught as academic subjects in the schools and used for instruction in private institutions and in religious services. Certain languages, among them German, Ukrainian, and Italian, have already received some form of local or regional recognition. In future, whenever a sufficient number of Canadians ordinarily use a language other than English or French—Ukrainian, for example—and obviously wish to maintain it, this recognition might be broadened and even confirmed by law or regulation.

29. We have not seen fit to extend the scope of our recommendation regarding the section of the British North America Act dealing with the other languages spoken in Canada for three reasons. First, with the exception of our colleague, Commissioner J. B. Rudnyckyj,³ we interpret our terms of reference as limiting constitutional change exclusively

¹ *Ibid.*, I, § 418.

² *Ibid.*, § 424.

³ See *ibid.*, Separate Statement, 155-69.

to the country's two official languages; hence the title of the first Book of our *Report*. We also consider that subsection 5 of the new version of section 133 will suffice to preserve the languages of the other cultural groups. A broad interpretation and reasonable application of this section will assure the protection needed for the cultural heritage of each to flourish. Finally, we are convinced that measures adopted at the provincial level in the spheres of administration and education will be more appropriate for meeting the linguistic requirements of the various cultural groups than a constitutional formula advanced by federal authorities.

The "other
ethnic groups":
a positive
factor

30. The presence in Canada of many people whose language and culture are distinctive by reason of their birth or ancestry represents an inestimable enrichment that Canadians can not afford to lose. The dominant cultures can only profit from the influence of these other cultures. Linguistic variety is unquestionably an advantage, and its beneficial effects on the country are priceless. We have constantly declared our desire to see all Canadians associating in a climate of equality, whether they belong to the Francophone or Anglophone society. Members of "other ethnic groups," which we prefer to call cultural groups, must enjoy these same advantages and meet the same restrictions. Integration, with respect for both the spirit of democracy and the most deep-rooted human values, can engender healthy diversity within a harmonious and dynamic whole.

31. Finally, the presence of the other cultural groups in Canada is something for which all Canadians should be thankful. Their members must always enjoy the right—a basic human one—to safeguard their languages and cultures. The exercise of this right requires an extra effort on their part, for which their fellow Canadians owe them a debt of gratitude. Their presence facilitates communications between Canada and the rest of the world. Their cultural values find expression not only in popular traditions but also in arts and letters. In our opinion, these values are far more than ethnic differences; we consider them an integral part of the national wealth. We are, therefore, justified in our concern for "the cultural contribution of the other ethnic groups," and having studied it in some detail, proposing ways in which the cultural, social, economic, and political institutions of the country can respond to the legitimate aspirations of the members of the other cultural groups and provide them with opportunities for full development in a dynamic and prosperous Canada.

32. The arrival in Canada of people drawn from a wide variety of ethnic origins can be followed through four distinct phases. The first of these lasted until approximately 1901. In that year the immigration policy of Sir Clifford Sifton, who became Minister of the Interior in 1896 and was determined to see the Canadian West settled, showed its results in the sharply rising census figures. This second phase, which lasted from 1901 until the outbreak of World War I, saw the greatest flow of people into Canada that the country has ever experienced. This influx was halted abruptly by the war, and the level of immigration only began to rise again in the early 1920's. This third phase was in turn halted by the Depression and immigration lapsed until a fourth phase began after World War II and has continued since then.¹ Each of these four phases attracted different types of immigrants to the country. Thus over the years the ethnic background, class, and educational levels of the newcomers have differed widely, as have the geographic areas in which they chose to settle.

33. The history of these four phases can be traced through the Canadian census records but they give less than the full story. The questions asked in the censuses about ethnic origin have differed over the years and thus the information available is often not comparable for different periods. For the census of 1891 the only classification by origin was between French and all others. Other difficulties are that many people have been unable to answer the questions about their ethnic background accurately and at various times people have had reasons to wish to conceal or change their ethnic origin.² Nor are the figures

Limitations of
sources

¹ See Appendix II, Tables A-1 and A-2.

² N. B. Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXI, No. 4 (November, 1955), 466-79.

of arriving immigrants very detailed, particularly in the earlier phases. For example, there are no figures available as to the ethnic origin of immigrants other than the three categories of "British," "others," and "from the United States" for the years 1896-1900. An additional problem is that considerable numbers of immigrants either returned home or moved on, often to the United States, so the change in the number of a particular group between two censuses results not only from natural increase and immigration but also from emigration. There are no official Canadian records of emigration, although broad estimates can be made by examining official United States reports¹ of immigrants who give Canada as their birth place or as their last place of permanent residence.

A. Immigration before 1901

Early ethnic
diversity

34. Although the French and British have been predominant both in their number and in their cultural influence, the population of what is now Canada has always been ethnically diverse. People of many different origins entered British North America during the 18th and 19th centuries as fishermen, farmers, merchants, traders, soldiers, adventurers, slaves, and fugitives. For example, the Jewish community celebrated its national bicentenary in 1959 on the grounds that Aaron Hart, a commissary officer in General Amherst's invading army and the first permanent Jewish settler in Canada, arrived in Montreal in 1759.² The Poles can also point to several notable figures of Polish background in Canadian history during the 18th and 19th centuries. These include Frederic Globenski, born in 1790, a judge at Rivière-du-Chêne, Quebec; Sir Casimir Gzowski, born in 1813, a civil engineer and contractor, and builder of the International Bridge at Niagara; and Alexandre Edouard Kierzkowski, born in 1816, a member of the first Parliament after Confederation.

Slow rate of
growth

35. Yet, until 1901, the pace of immigration was slow. By 1871 only 8 per cent³ of the population was of ethnic origin other than British, French, or native Indian and Eskimo. By 1881 the percentage had risen to nearly 9 and by 1901 to nearly 10 (*see* Table 1). Emigration to the United States was one reason for this slow rate of growth. In his report on British North America in 1839, Lord Durham noted a tendency for immigrants to Canada to move on to the United States and placed the level of emigration at 60 per cent for the decade

¹ From the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice.

² B. G. Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada* (Montreal, 1945), I, 51, discusses Jewish contacts with New France and Nova Scotia which occurred much earlier than 1759.

³ Except in a few cases, percentages in the text have been rounded to the nearest whole number.

Table 1. Ethnic Variations in the Canadian Population

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the population, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1871–1961¹

Year	British		French		Indian and Eskimo		Others and not stated		Total	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1871	2,110,502	60.5	1,082,940	31.1	23,037	.7	269,282	7.7	3,485,761	100
1881	2,548,514	58.9	1,298,929	30.0	108,547	2.5	368,820	8.6	4,324,810	100
1901	3,063,195	57.0	1,649,371	30.7	127,941	2.4	530,808	9.9	5,371,315	100
1911	3,999,081	55.5	2,061,719	28.6	105,611	1.5	1,040,232	14.4	7,206,643	100
1921	4,868,738	55.4	2,452,743	27.9	113,724	1.3	1,352,744	15.4	8,787,949	100
1931	5,381,071	51.9	2,927,990	28.2	128,890	1.2	1,938,835	18.7	10,376,786	100
1941	5,715,904	49.7	3,483,038	30.3	125,521	1.1	2,182,192	18.9	11,506,655	100
1951	6,709,685	47.9	4,319,167	30.8	165,607	1.2	2,814,970	20.1	14,009,429	100
1961	7,996,669	43.8	5,540,346	30.4	220,121	1.2	4,481,111	24.6	18,238,247	100

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ 1891 omitted because of insufficient data.

Early German
immigration

1829-39.¹ It has been estimated that more people left the country than entered it in each decade from 1861 to 1901.²

36. Over half the immigrants to Canada of ethnic origin other than British or French before and during the 19th century were German. Small numbers of Germans settled in New France in the late 17th century. Several thousand German Protestants went to Nova Scotia between 1750 and 1753; about 1,500 of them founded the Lunenburg settlement. There were also Germans among the discharged soldiers and immigrants from New England who settled in the Maritimes and what was then the Province of Quebec after 1760, and among the United Empire Loyalists of the 1780's. After 1780 German sectarians—such as Mennonites, Moravians, and Tunkers—entered the British provinces, especially Upper Canada, coming primarily from the United States. Between the 1830's and 1870's immigrants from Germany settled in Upper Canada, many in Waterloo County (particularly the Mennonites), and to a lesser extent in the Maritime Provinces and Lower Canada. Pioneer settlements of German Mennonites who came from eastern Europe were established on the prairies between 1874 and 1878, and were joined by other Germans of different religious groups from Europe and the United States. German settlers also reached British Columbia after 1850. By 1901 residents of German origin were second in number only to the British in Ontario and Manitoba, and were the third largest group in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. They made up the fourth largest category in British Columbia and the fifth largest in Quebec.

The Dutch
and Scandinavians

37. The only other origin categories listed in the 1901 census which constituted over one half of 1 per cent of the population were the Dutch and Scandinavians. Like the Germans, many Dutch immigrants entered British North America as discharged soldiers and United Empire Loyalists. It seems probable that some were also Pennsylvania Dutch, who should really be considered part of the German group. In New Brunswick, a Danish settlement was established in the 1870's. In 1875 and 1876, about 1,000 Icelanders set up farming communities on the west shore of Lake Winnipeg, after earlier attempts in Nova Scotia and Ontario had failed. Norwegians, chiefly from the United States, settled near Brown in Manitoba, near Calgary in Alberta, and at several places in British Columbia.³ Finns also came to Canada in the 1870's, settling in the Port Arthur area.

¹ *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America*, C. P. Lucas, ed. (Oxford, 1912), II, 216-18.

² See Nathan Keyfitz, "The Growth of Canadian Population," in *Population Studies*, IV, No. 1 (June, 1950), 62.

³ W. J. Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, *Canada Ethnica* II (Ottawa, 1967), 89-94, 102-43.

38. The vast tide of immigration to Canada from central and eastern Europe in the early 1900's was preceded by a settlement of Poles at Wilno in Ontario and by the beginning of Hungarian settlement on the prairies through the activities of Count Esterhazy. He was responsible for several hundred Hungarian families moving to the Canadian West from the United States, and a smaller number directly from Hungary, to settle near Minnedosa in Manitoba and at what was to become Esterhazy and Kaposvar in Saskatchewan. He also persuaded Slovaks, Ukrainians, Germans, and Czechs to come to Canada.¹

Other Europeans

39. On the west coast, Asians were a significant proportion of the population, although after 1878 they were subject to special restrictions. There were 4,400 Asians in Canada in 1881, mainly Chinese who had entered from California during the gold rush. Between 1881 and 1884, 15,700 more Chinese were brought in from Canton and Hong Kong as contract labourers to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway. It has been said that a Chinese is buried beneath every mile of track of the railway through the mountains of British Columbia. On completion of the railway, the CPR. disclaimed all responsibility for the Chinese workers and neither the provincial nor federal governments provided assistance.² By 1901 the number of Asians had risen to 23,700 including 4,700 Japanese and some 1,700 East Indians. Most Asians settled in British Columbia, where they made up 11 per cent of the population and, since they were almost all adult males, a much larger proportion of the labour force.³

Asians on the west coast

40. Negroes came to New France and to the provinces of British North America in the 18th century chiefly as slaves. In the 19th century, they formed sizable settlements as freedmen and fugitive slaves in the Maritimes, in southwestern Ontario, and in Victoria. Many returned to the United States in the 1860's, during and after the Civil War. The 1871 census figure of 21,500 for Canada probably represents a drop in the Negro population from an earlier peak. The 1881, 1901, and 1911 censuses record further declines.⁴

Negro immigration

¹ Norman MacDonald, *Canada: Immigration and Colonization, 1841-1903* (Aberdeen, 1968), 224-8 and J. M. Kirschbaum, "Slovaks in Canada," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, Proceedings of the First National Conference of Canadian Slavs (Edmonton, 1966), 25-7.

² See Charles J. Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient: A Study in International Relations* (Toronto, 1941), chap. II for a description of Chinese immigration, 1858-1903.

³ It has been estimated that in 1907, 25 per cent of the labour force of British Columbia was of Asian origin. See Mabel F. Timlin, "Canada's Immigration Policy, 1896-1910," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXVI, No. 4 (November, 1960), 524.

⁴ The number of Negroes in Canada in 1860 was estimated at 50,000. Citizenship Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Notes on the Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa, 1960), 106. Perhaps 15,000 to 16,000 entered between 1850 and 1860. See Fred Landon, "Negro Migration to Canada," *Journal of Negro History*, V (1920), 22.

B. The Settlement of the Prairies

41. The tide of emigration from Europe between 1880 and 1914 has been described as "the mightiest movement of people in modern history."¹ Because of conditions in Europe—the collapse of the social structure, the transformation of agriculture and industry, the precipitous increase in population—millions moved to the United States and Latin America, particularly Argentina and Brazil. Canada received very few of these settlers until the late 1890's, when several factors combined to begin mass immigration to this country. The Yukon gold rush, the completion of the first continental railway and the building of other lines, the closing of the American frontier, new developments in dry land farming, and the Canadian government's first concentrated policy to promote immigration all combined to attract more than three million immigrants to Canada between 1896 and 1914. The number of immigrants arriving in 1913 was over 400,000, the highest it has ever been. Thus Clifford Sifton's immigration policy achieved its major goal, "to settle the empty West with producing farmers."² Of those who immigrated in this period, 1,250,000 came from the United Kingdom, and about one million from the United States. Thousands more came directly from continental Europe. Between the censuses of 1901 and 1921 there was an increase of over 800,000 among those whose origin was neither British nor French in the Canadian population, and by 1921 they made up 15 per cent of Canada's population.

Increased
European
settlement

42. Those that were already established in the West increased their numbers greatly during this period. For example, the Germans increased in the three Prairie Provinces from 46,800 in 1901 to 148,000 in 1911, many of the newcomers being sponsored by German Catholic organizations. In 1921, the census showed that those of German origin in the three Prairie Provinces had decreased to 123,000 but this decrease can probably be attributed to temporary denials of German origin during and after World War I. In 1931, the census listed 242,000 Canadians of German origin in the Prairie Provinces. Those of Scandinavian origin also increased considerably. Norwegian and Danish farmers migrated from the United States as homesteaders and many Swedes came to Canada as railway workers. The census figures give 17,300 persons of Scandinavian origin in the prairies in 1901, and 130,000 in 1921.

43. The outstanding feature of this period, however, was the influx of immigrants from central and eastern Europe—Ukrainians, Poles,

¹ G. M. Craig, "The Canadian Setting," in *A People and Its Faith: Essays on Jews and Reform Judaism in a Changing Canada*, A. Rose, ed. (Toronto, 1959), 8.

² J. W. Dafoe, *Clifford Sifton in Relation to His Times* (Toronto, 1931), 131.

Hungarians, Roumanians, and Russians. National boundaries had been fluid in eastern Europe in the years immediately preceding this period, and the peasants who immigrated were often uncertain as to their exact ethnic designations. Therefore, the census is an unreliable guide to the numbers in any one of these categories. It is particularly unreliable for Ukrainians, since there was no Ukrainian state during this period. An independent Ukrainian state existed between 1917 and 1921.¹ In the late 1940's some Ukrainian immigrants still had difficulty in persuading Canadian immigration officials to accept Ukrainian as an ethnic origin. Between 1901 and 1921, the census recorded an increase in Ukrainians from 5,600 to 96,000 in the three Prairie Provinces, and an increase in Poles from 2,800 to 32,000. Hungarians were not enumerated separately until the 1921 census when their total was 13,200.

44. The symbolic "first" Ukrainian immigrants to Canada are Wasyl Eleniak and Iwan Pylypiw, who arrived in 1891. The mass movement of Ukrainians began in 1896, under the direction of Joseph Oleskow and in response to Clifford Sifton's urgent invitations. Oleskow, an agriculturalist, was disturbed by the plight of Ukrainian immigrants to Brazil and other South American countries, and therefore studied the possibility of emigration elsewhere. He felt that Canada was extremely promising and the Department of the Interior sponsored a tour of the country for him in 1895. This tour and his contact and correspondence with Canadian officials increased his enthusiasm. On his return to Lviv, he published a brochure promoting immigration to Canada and this had a tremendous influence on the Ukrainian peasants. He also personally organized groups of immigrants. The first group of 107 arrived in Quebec City on May 1, 1896. This initiated a flow of Ukrainian immigrants that continued until the outbreak of war in 1914.²

Ukrainian
immigration

45. By 1901 the number of settlers of Russian origin in Saskatchewan was exceeded only by those of British, Indian and Eskimo, and German origin. Among the Russians were between 7,000 and 8,000 Doukhobors, who had arrived in 1899 and settled in Saskatchewan before it became a province. A few more Doukhobors arrived in Saskatchewan before the next census in 1911, but many also emigrated to British Columbia during that period.³ British Columbia had only 27 settlers of Russian origin in 1901 but had 4,400 by 1911 and 7,800 by 1921.

Arrival of the
Doukhobors

¹ Vladimir J. Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada, 1895-1900* (Toronto, 1964), xxiii-vi and O. Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, Canada Ethnica IV (Ottawa, 1967), 15-17.

² Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements*.

³ Harry B. Hawthorn, "The Contemporary Picture," in Harry B. Hawthorn, ed., *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* (London, 1955), 7-8; see also J. F. C. Wright, *Slava Bohu: The Story of the Doukhobors* (New York, 1940) and George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors* (Toronto, 1968), especially chaps. 6 and 10.

The growth of
Winnipeg

46. For these thousands of immigrants, the city of Winnipeg was the gateway to the promised land. Most only passed through the city but some stayed.¹ The settlement of the prairies was reflected in Winnipeg's growth between 1881 and 1911 and in its increasing ethnic heterogeneity. In 30 years Winnipeg changed from a town of 8,000 residents to a prairie metropolis of 136,000. The proportion of those of British origin in the population declined from 84 to 59 per cent. By 1921 the population had reached 176,000 and 67 per cent reported British as their ethnic origin. This proportion was probably inflated, however, as a result of strong anti-alien sentiments after World War I and the Winnipeg general strike in 1919.² In 1931 the British proportion was 61 per cent, and it has declined at each succeeding census.³

Further urban
growth

47. Like so many others who came to Canada, the Italians were forced to emigrate by unsettled economic and political conditions at home, and were attracted to Canada by the demand of the railways and other construction enterprises for labourers. The number of Italians in Canada rose from 11,000 in 1901 to 46,000 by 1911 and 67,000 by 1921. The number of Jews also increased from 16,100 in 1901 to 76,200 by 1911 and 126,000 by 1921. Many of these were refugees from eastern Europe. Most immigrants of both groups settled in the towns and cities of Ontario and Quebec, although some Italian labourers worked on western railway construction and some Jews settled in Winnipeg and in pioneer farming communities in Manitoba. By 1921 the Jews in Toronto were second only to the British in number. Although many fewer immigrated to Canada, the Greeks, Syrians, Lebanese, and Armenians resembled the Italians and Jews in their preference for settling in the cities of central Canada.

Increased
Asian
immigration

48. Clifford Sifton disapproved of the immigration of Asians but on the west coast the Chinese population continued to increase in spite of the imposition of a "head tax" of \$100 on entering Canada in 1900, and \$500 in 1903. Japanese also began to immigrate in large numbers. In the first ten months of 1907, over 8,000 Japanese arrived. Anti-Asian sentiment and the demand for tighter immigration restrictions increased in British Columbia, finally resulted in racial riots in Vancouver in September 1907, and drew the country's attention to the problem. The outcome was what is known as the "gentlemen's agreement" by which Japan agreed to limit emigration of labourers

¹ For a description of the immigrants in Winnipeg in this period, see J. S. Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates or Coming Canadians* (Toronto, 1909).

² See D. C. Masters, *The Winnipeg General Strike* (Toronto, 1950), 103-6, 113, for a description of the amending of the Immigration Act during the strike to allow the government to deport anyone not born in Canada. The legislation was never used against the strike leaders.

³ M. S. Donnelly, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government—Winnipeg, St. Boniface, and the Metropolitan Corporation of Greater Winnipeg," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

to Canada unless specifically requested by the Canadian government.¹ The Japanese already in Canada were largely rural settlers, engaging in farming, fishing, logging, boat-building, and mining, and they stayed near the west coast. By 1921, there were 40,000 Chinese in Canada, 24,000 of them in British Columbia, and 16,000 Japanese, 15,000 of them in British Columbia. There were also about 5,000 East Indians, chiefly Sikhs, who came to British Columbia between 1905 and 1908 and found work mainly in railroad construction and in the logging and lumbering industries.²

C. Immigration between the Wars

49. World War I cut off the movement of people to Canada, and post-war readjustments impeded it for several more years. However, by 1923 another phase of rising immigration was in progress, although the numbers never reached those of the peak years of 1902-13. This phase continued until the Depression caused an abrupt decline in immigration, starting in 1931. The United States developed restrictions on immigration which reduced the total number of immigrants entering the United States each year and particularly the number coming from southern and eastern Europe. Canada therefore replaced its southern neighbour as the favoured destination. Canada also restricted immigration to some extent, although a formal quota system was not adopted as it was in the United States. The Canadian government established a list of "preferred" and "non-preferred" countries from which to select immigrants, virtually excluded the Chinese, and severely limited other Asians. However, the proportion of the Canadian population that was not of British, French, or native Indian and Eskimo origin still rose to more than 18 per cent by 1931.

50. Fewer immigrants went west in this period than in the early 1900's. The wheat lands were filled, the wheat boom was faltering, and the new arrivals were more interested in settling in urban communities than the earlier immigrants had been. They tended to stay in the industrial and commercial centres of Ontario and Quebec, or to go to the booming mining and pulp and paper towns in the northern part of central Canada. The populations of these centres were also increased by people moving from farms to urban areas. In 1928 a committee of the House of Commons expressed concern that the immigrants who

Attraction of
the cities

¹ Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, 44-5, 72-99, Appendix E.

² Adrian C. Mayer, "A Report on the East Indian Community in Vancouver" (unpublished working paper, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of British Columbia, n.d.), 2. After 1908, East Indians, although they were British subjects, could be refused entry if they had not come to Canada by a continuous journey from their country of origin.

had been intended to provide a labour force for agriculture were instead gravitating to the cities, and often ending up in slum areas.¹ However, no plans to change this situation were implemented.

51. Between 1920 and 1939 the number of new arrivals giving their ethnic origin as Ukrainian was 67,000. In addition, awakening ethnic self-consciousness during this period now led many earlier immigrants to identify themselves as Ukrainian. As a result, between 1921 and 1941 those claiming Ukrainian ethnic origin rose from eighth to fourth place in the origin categories listed in the Canadian census figures.

52. The Ukrainian immigrants of this period were often better educated than those who had come to Canada earlier, and many more of them settled in urban centres:

Although the reasons for their coming to Canada were basically the same as those of the first settlers (economic and political), they had the advantage of some form of schooling, and many had high school or more advanced education. The war and technological progress had equipped them with more knowledge and skills. Many of them had served with the Ukrainian armies. The rise and fall of the independent Ukrainian State (1917-1921) had developed in them a deep national consciousness; they were well versed in the historical past of their country. Nor were they confused as to their identity, a state of mind not shared by earlier immigrants. They were inclined to urban living, and only a small number settled permanently on farms. Many looked on agricultural work as a temporary occupation for the transitional period until jobs in the city were available. Others, as soon as some capital had been accumulated, opened their own business establishments.²

The influence of this trend can be seen in the spread of Ukrainian communities from the prairies, where they had been concentrated before World War I, to other sections of the country. The number in Ontario doubled and in British Columbia tripled between 1931 and 1941. Higher levels of education and technical skills resulting in greater interest in settling in urban centres also characterized the Poles and Hungarians who arrived in Canada during the 1920's. The number of Hungarians in Canada rose sharply during the decade 1921-31.

Russian
immigration

53. The census figure for those of Russian origin was 100,000 for 1921, which is unusually high compared with 44,400 in 1911 and 88,100 in 1931. The increases were all in the Prairie Provinces. It is possible that many German-speaking people who had once lived in Tsarist Russia claimed Russian ethnic origin because of antagonisms towards them resulting from World War I. Some Russians did, of course, enter Canada after the Russian Revolution.³

¹ Select Standing Committee of the House of Commons on Agriculture and Colonization, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence and Report* (Ottawa, 1928), Appendix 8.

² Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 13.

³ Koozma J. Tarasoff, "Russians of the Greater Vancouver Area," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, 139-41.

54. Scandinavians continued to come to Canada and to settle in the farming areas of the West. About 20,000 Swedes, 19,500 Norwegians, and 17,000 Danes entered the country between 1923 and 1930. Those of Scandinavian origin increased from 167,000 in 1921 to 228,000 in 1931. In Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia the population of those of Scandinavian origin increased by 44,000 between 1921 and 1931.

Other
increases

55. In the 1920's about 6,500 German Mennonites, mostly members of the conservative wing of the group, left Manitoba and Saskatchewan for Mexico. In the same period Mennonite Colonization Associations brought almost 20,000 settlers to Canada. Other immigration organizations brought thousands more Mennonites, as well as members of other religious groups, most of whom settled in the West. As with other immigrants, the Mennonites were now more interested in settling in urban centres than earlier arrivals.¹

56. Many immigrants of this period settled in the mining and mill towns of northern Ontario and British Columbia, including large numbers of Finns. They were from the peasant and working class—losers in the class struggle which followed Finland's achievement of independence in 1917. Many went to the Port Arthur area joining earlier Finnish settlers, and they also developed communities in Sault St. Marie, Timmins, Sudbury, Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver.

57. For the Italians this phase of immigration was of short duration. After 1925 the Fascist government discouraged emigration from Italy, except to North Africa. Canada's economic difficulties and restrictions on immigration reinforced this policy.² Immigration and natural increases were not quite sufficient to double the population of Italian origin between 1921 and 1941. Montreal and Toronto continued to be the centres of the Italian population. In 1941, there were 23,800 persons of Italian origin in Montreal, and 14,200 in Toronto.

Immigration
restrictions

58. During this period, 20,200 Jewish immigrants settled in Canada, most of them in urban centres. Regardless of their citizenship, Jews were treated separately by Canadian immigration authorities and were required to meet special conditions.³ There were also campaigns for tighter restrictions against Asian immigrants, similar to those in force in the United States. From 1923 on, the Canadian government admitted only certain specified classes of Chinese, and the 1908 "gentlemen's agreement" was revised in 1928 to limit the entry of Japanese to 150

¹ E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba* (Altona, Manitoba, 1955), 192, 204, 209-10.

² Jeremy Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal: Social Adjustment in a Plural Society*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 7 (Ottawa, 1970), 6, and C. W. Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton: Adjustment and Integration," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ Canada, Senate, *Proceedings of the Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour* (Ottawa, 1946), 172-4 (evidence of Mr. Louis Rosenberg, Research Director, Canadian Jewish Congress).

a year.¹ Campaigns against the "yellow peril" were so successful that the census of 1931 listed only 85,600 residents of Asian ethnic origin, an increase of fewer than 19,000 in the decade, and the census of 1941 showed a decrease to 74,000. The decrease was especially marked among the Chinese, and reflected the dying out of the original immigrant group, which had had an extremely unbalanced sex ratio severely limiting natural increase, and the lack of replacements through immigration. Negroes also suffered from discriminatory measures after 1923, when it was decided that only citizens of Commonwealth countries with predominantly white populations would be considered British subjects.

Decline in
arrivals

59. During the Depression of the 1930's the government cut off the flow of immigrants into Canada. A total of 1,804,000 new immigrants arrived between 1911 and 1921, and 1,166,000 between 1922 and 1931. Between 1932 and 1941 the figure fell to 140,000, and emigration is estimated to have exceeded immigration by 100,000.² Deportation figures, usually small, rose steeply for a few years in the early thirties, when the provision that those who became total public charges were subject to deportation was invoked against some of the unemployed.³ Between 1931 and 1941 the number of Canadian residents of German ethnic origin fell by almost 9,000, that of Russian origin by almost 4,500, and that of Asian origin by 10,500. The proportion of the population of other ethnic origins held steady in Canada as a whole, and rose by about 3 percentage points in the three Prairie Provinces, but this increase occurred because the population of British origin decreased by 48,000 in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

60. The drift to the cities continued during the 1930's. Small concentrations of different cultural groups which already existed in many cities were augmented by people moving away from the drought areas of the West. For example, the Roumanian community in Montreal, which had existed since the turn of the century, grew considerably and a Hungarian community emerged in Toronto.⁴

Policy towards
refugees

61. In the late 1930's some of those arriving in Canada were refugees, but economic recovery was slow and the Canadian government was reluctant to admit even the victims of Nazi Germany. The tendency to give economic considerations priority over humanitarian ones was probably buttressed by the anti-semitism expressed by small but noisy and even violent minorities in various parts of Canada in the 1930's.⁵

¹ See Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, 111-15, Appendix D.

² David C. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy: A Critique* (Toronto, 1957), 148. Key fitz, "The Growth of Canadian Population," 56, gives an estimate of 112,000.

³ See Woodcock and Avakumovic, *The Doukhobors*, 299.

⁴ John Kosa, *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada* (Toronto, 1957), 33-4.

⁵ E. C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Toronto, 1943), 212-29; Craig, "The Canadian Setting," 10-12; and Dennis H. Wrong, "Ontario's Jews in the Larger Community," in *People and Its Faith*, 53-4.

D. After World War II

62. Substantial immigration to Canada resumed soon after the end of World War II, and by 1961 another 2,100,000 immigrants had arrived in Canada.¹ A wider variety of ethnic origin categories, social classes, and occupations were included in this final phase, which has also continued longer than either of the earlier phases before and after World War I. The ethnic origins most strongly represented among the new arrivals since 1945—other than British—are Italian, German, Dutch, Polish, and Jewish;² those of British origin constituted one-third of the total.

63. During this same period, Canada has become increasingly urban and industrial, and the vast majority of these immigrants have settled in towns and cities. A substantial number have gone to Montreal, but Toronto has become the immigrant metropolis of Canada. In 1961, nearly 42 per cent of the residents of Toronto and one-third of the residents of the Toronto metropolitan area were not born in Canada. Twenty-nine per cent of the city's residents and 22 per cent of those in the metropolitan area had immigrated between 1946 and 1961.

Increase in
urban
settlement

64. This last phase included some 300,000 persons who came to Canada as refugees displaced by political disruptions in their homeland. These disruptions often had a great impact upon persons from all social and economic levels; many of them came from urban centres and were generally well-educated people with professional training, artistic talents, and linguistic skills, along with experience in business, government, the military, or a skilled trade.

Refugees

65. Immigration to Canada following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 is perhaps the most obvious illustration of this development, but Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Latvians, Jews, and Poles were also included.³ Early in World War II, over 2,500 German and Austrian nationals, most of them Jews who had been interned in Great Britain after the outbreak of hostilities, were sent to Canada for internment. About a thousand decided to remain in Canada after their release, and this group included an exceptional number of intellectually and artistically gifted individuals who have since made a notable contribution to Canadian arts, letters, and science. The Jewish refugees who came after the war were mainly from Poland, although there were also small groups among the Hungarian immigrants after 1956 and from Egypt

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-1.

² The number of persons giving their ethnic origin as Jewish only increased from 170,000 in the 1941 census to 173,000 in 1961, but in 1961 a total of 254,000 persons gave Judaism as their religion; 27,000 persons of Polish origin gave Judaism as their religion as did 23,000 of Russian origin and smaller numbers in other origin categories.

³ Included among the Poles were approximately 4,500 former soldiers who entered under a special scheme just after the war.

and North Africa after the crises there in the late 1950's. Toronto and Montreal were their usual destinations. Montreal was especially attractive to the French-speaking Jews from the Middle East, as it was for many French-speaking North Africans.

Changing
residential
patterns

66. As already noted, most groups of immigrants since 1945 have included relatively large proportions of the educated and the skilled, partly because economic and social development made Canada more attractive to these groups and partly because government policy made admission easier for those with education and skills. Because of their backgrounds and their familiarity with urban life, these immigrants have not tended to establish heavily concentrated settlements in the cities as the earlier, less skilled groups had done. Instead, they quickly spread out into any parts of the cities where they found other Canadians sharing their educational level, occupations, and tastes.

67. However, most immigrants from the less economically advanced countries such as Italy, Greece, and Portugal still come largely from rural areas, villages, and towns. These groups continued to cluster in specific sections of the cities in which they settled, their residential patterns thus resembling those of earlier peasant groups that settled in Canadian and American cities. Italian immigration has been the heaviest in the post-war period, especially between 1951 and 1960 when over 250,000 Italians entered the country. Immigration from Greece and Portugal had always been light, but in the early 1950's it increased sharply, and has continued since then at a high level. Most immigrants of all these three ethnic origins have settled in cities, especially in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. By the 1960's those of Italian origin were second in number only to those of British origin in Toronto.

Dutch farmers

68. In spite of the rapid industrialization of Canada since the war, a large proportion of the Dutch immigrants who had been farmers in the Netherlands have tended to specialize in dairy and truck farming for the urban markets of southern Ontario and, to a lesser extent, southern Alberta.

Uprooting of
the Japanese

69. Probably no people in Canada suffered more because of the war than those of Japanese origin. When Japan entered the war, they were uprooted from the west coast and placed in relocation centres. At the war's end about 4,000 were forced to leave the country under a government "repatriation" scheme. More than half of these were Canadian born and two-thirds were Canadian citizens.¹ Most of the Japanese who stayed in Canada did not return to British Columbia. Many went to

¹ Forrest E. La Violette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II* (Toronto, 1948).

Toronto where, by 1961, there were about 8,000 Japanese in the metropolitan area.¹

70. Immigration from Japan did not resume in any volume after the war. Chinese immigration, which had been virtually non-existent since 1923, revived with the removal of some of the government's restrictive measures in 1947. About 25,000 people of Chinese origin entered between 1949 and the end of 1961. Immigration from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon also began to increase in the late 1950's.

Asian immigration

71. The total Negro population of Canada fell from 22,200 in 1941 to 18,000 in 1951, but by 1961 it had increased to 32,100. The decrease during the war and early post-war years may reflect some tendency on the part of Negro youths to emigrate to the United States for their higher education and for employment. Negro immigration began to rise in 1953 and has continued at a high level since then.

Negro population

72. British immigration has always been high; in most years the number of immigrants of British origin has been highest or second highest. French immigration was a slow trickle until 1951, when it showed a slight increase. The natural increase of those of French origin has enabled them to maintain their proportion of the population while the British proportion has declined steadily.

British and French immigration

73. Those of other ethnic origins are not equally dispersed across Canada. The Atlantic Provinces and Quebec (except Montreal) have remained largely British or French. Residents of other ethnic origins make up 47 per cent of the population of the Prairie Provinces, 34 per cent of that of British Columbia, and 29 per cent of Ontario. All five of these provinces also have a high proportion of residents born outside Canada. The range is from 16 per cent in Saskatchewan to 26 per cent in British Columbia, as compared with 7 per cent in Quebec and even less in the Atlantic Provinces.

Geographic distribution

74. In the 1961 census nearly one quarter of the population reported their ethnic origin as other than British, French, or Indian and Eskimo. A large proportion of these are in fact Canadian-born. Seventy-seven per cent of those of Ukrainian origin and 73 per cent of those of German, Russian, and Scandinavian origin were born in Canada. The ethnic origin of the Canadian population according to the 1961 census is shown in Table 2. In the chapters which follow we shall examine the part which those of ethnic origin other than British or French have played in the development of Canadian society.

¹ A brief submitted to the R.C.B.&B., by the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association.

² See Appendix II, Tables A-3-A-22.

Table 2. Ethnic Composition of the Canadian Population

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the population, by ethnic origin
—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Number	%
British Isles (total)	7,996,669	43.8
English	4,195,175	23.0
Irish	1,753,351	9.6
Scottish	1,902,302	10.4
Other	145,841	0.8
French	5,540,346	30.4
Other European (total)	4,116,849	22.6
Austrian	106,535	0.6
Belgian	61,382	0.3
Czech and Slovak	73,061	0.4
Danish	85,473	0.5
Finnish	59,436	0.3
German	1,049,599	5.7
Greek	56,475	0.3
Hungarian	126,220	0.7
Icelandic	30,623	0.2
Italian	450,351	2.5
Jewish	173,344	0.9
Lithuanian	27,629	0.2
Netherlands	429,679	2.3
Norwegian	148,681	0.8
Polish	323,517	1.8
Roumanian	43,805	0.2
Russian	119,168	0.7
Swedish	121,757	0.7
Ukrainian	473,337	2.6
Yugoslavic	68,587	0.4
Other	88,190	0.5
Asian (total)	121,753	0.7
Chinese	58,197	0.3
Japanese	29,157	0.2
Other	34,399	0.2
Indian and Eskimo	220,121	1.2
Other origins (total)	242,509	1.3
Negro	32,127	0.2
Others and not stated	210,382	1.1
Total	18,238,247	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-545.

75. In the three chapters which follow we examine the economic, political, and social participation of those whose origin is neither British nor French in Canadian life. Our main focus in chapter II is on the integration of those of other ethnic origins into the occupational structure in Canada. Chapter III reviews their role in the political process and in public administration. Chapter IV looks at their familial, religious, and educational characteristics and at ethnic voluntary associations.

76. These chapters are particularly concerned with showing the role played by those of other ethnic origins in Canadian life, and with analyzing the influence of their particular cultural characteristics. Those of other ethnic origin can play a dual role, as participants in the Canadian community and as members of another cultural group. In approaching our subject this way we are not implying the existence in Canada of "third force," made up of all those of ethnic origin other than British or French. It should be remembered that the census lists some 30 different ethnic origin categories and still does not list them all, and that there are great differences in numbers, concentration, time of arrival, and degree of group awareness among the different cultural groups. We have also tried to examine the degree to which our country has accepted immigrants of other ethnic origin and helped their integration into its economic, political, and social structures. In addition, we have looked at how those of other ethnic origin have functioned in the Canadian context and how their contributions have changed Canadian society.

77. Economic factors have always been a primary regulator of the number and kind of people who have come to Canada, of the regions and types of community to which they have gone, and of their later movements. At the same time, these newcomers vitally affected the economy by swelling the labour force, by adding to the country's pool of skills and experience, and by providing additional consumers. Today, those of ethnic origin other than British or French play a substantial and essential role in Canada's economic structure. In spite of the number who are recent immigrants, they do not constitute a lower stratum in the economy which could be considered particularly vulnerable to technological changes or economic recessions, but are distributed throughout all occupation and income levels.

78. Those of ethnic origin other than British or French form a somewhat larger proportion of the labour force than they do of the total population. According to the 1961 census, they comprise 28 per cent of the total labour force 15 years of age and over, 28 per cent of the male labour force, and 27 per cent of the female labour force. Of the total male population 15 years of age and over in Canada, 78 per cent were in the labour force. However, those of both British and French origin were underrepresented;¹ more than 80 per cent of those of German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian ethnic origin were in the male labour force and 78 per cent of all the others taken together.²

¹ The words "underrepresented" and "overrepresented" do not imply any judgement concerning a "correct" proportion. The term overrepresented is used when the proportion of those of a particular ethnic origin in a given category is greater than its proportion in the total labour force in that category, and underrepresented when the proportion is less.

² See Appendix II, Table A-23.

Urban-rural
distribution

79. Of the total population of Canada, 70 per cent were classified as urban, 19 per cent as rural non-farm, and 11 per cent as rural farm by the 1961 census.¹ Those of British origin were 71 per cent urban, those of French origin 68 per cent urban, other Europeans 70 per cent urban, and Asians 89 per cent urban. However, among the other origin categories the percentage of urban population varied widely, from the Jews (99 per cent) and the Italians (95 per cent) to the Dutch, Scandinavians, Germans, and Ukrainians, who were between 56 and 65 per cent urban and had a comparatively high (18 to 22 per cent) rural farm representation.

Distribution of
male workers

80. In the labour force, males of ethnic origin other than British or French have increased—they made up only 22 per cent of the total in 1941. They have also approached a “normal” distribution: the proportion of males of other ethnic origin in each main occupational category has deviated less at each succeeding census from the proportion of the total male work force in each category. In 1941, 46 per cent of those of other ethnic origin were in farming, whereas 38 per cent of the total male force were in farming; by 1951, the overrepresentation had declined to 7 percentage points, and by 1961 to 4.² In the other categories they did not deviate by more than 2 percentage points in 1961. Their overrepresentation in labour and service occupations increased slightly after 1941; their underrepresentation as craftsmen shifted to a slight overrepresentation. Their representation also increased in other professional and technical, clerical, sales, and transport and communication categories, although in all they remained slightly underrepresented. Of particular interest is the fact that a higher proportion of those of other ethnic origin are found among the new occupations in the professional and technical category than those of British or French origin.

Occupational
concentrations

81. Those in a particular origin category are, in many cases, highly concentrated occupationally.³ In managerial and professional and technical occupations Jews and Asians are overrepresented, not only in comparison with the male labour force, but also with the British; 53 per cent of Jews and 31 per cent of Asians are in these categories. On the other hand, Italians are greatly underrepresented, with 9 per cent in the managerial and professional and technical classes whereas these categories make up 18 per cent of the male labour force. In the other tertiary

¹ Urban population was defined as the population residing in any community of 1,000 persons or more (whether or not it was incorporated as a city, town, or village), or in a metropolitan area. The rest of the population was classified as rural; this category was then divided into rural farm and rural non-farm. A farm was defined as any holding of one acre or more with a sale of agricultural products valued at \$50 or more.

² André Raynauld, Gérard Marion, and Richard Béland, “La répartition des revenus selon les groupes ethniques au Canada,” a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ See Appendix II, Tables A-24 and A-25.

occupations—clerical, sales, and service—Jews and Asians are again overrepresented, with 35 per cent of Asians and 23 per cent of Jews falling in these categories compared to 21 per cent of the male labour force. This overrepresentation is largely a result of a high concentration of Asians in certain service categories and of Jews in sales. Italians, Hungarians, Germans, and Scandinavians are markedly underrepresented in these categories.

82. In the transport and communication categories, Jews are noticeably underrepresented, as they are in all primary and secondary occupations. Forty-four per cent of the Italians are craftsmen, 35 per cent of the Poles and Hungarians, and 33 per cent of the Germans. The Dutch and Germans are overrepresented in the food trades, Italians, Germans, and Scandinavians in wood, and Jews and Italians in the needle trades. Italians make up 16 per cent of the skilled construction workers although they make up only 3 per cent of the total male work force.

83. Ukrainians, Scandinavians, Dutch, Germans, and Hungarians are overrepresented in farming occupations; Italians, Jews, and Asians are greatly underrepresented. As labourers, Italians are overrepresented; one Italian in five is a labourer, and in construction one labourer in five is an Italian. In other primary occupations, Scandinavians are slightly overrepresented in logging, Asians in fishing, and Poles and Hungarians in mining.

Distribution of
female workers

84. Data for women in the labour force are much less reliable than those for men. The proportion of women in the labour force appears to be rising. The proportions in different occupations vary considerably among the different origin categories.¹ In the female labour force, Jews are again overrepresented in managerial occupations; 10 per cent of Jewish women are in this category. Italians are considerably underrepresented with only 2 per cent in these occupations. No single ethnic origin category is predominant among the women in the professional and technical occupations, but again Italians are greatly underrepresented with 4 per cent. In other tertiary occupations within the female labour force, Jews and Scandinavians tend to be overrepresented. Jews are relatively numerous in clerical and sales occupations and relatively few in service occupations while Scandinavians are proportionally represented in clerical jobs and a little more than proportionally represented in the sales and service categories. As skilled workers ("craftsmen" in the Appendix Tables), Italian women are highly overrepresented with 43 per cent in this category. Hungarians and Poles are somewhat overrepresented (16 and 15 per cent), and Scandinavians grossly underrepresented (5 per cent).

¹ *Ibid.*, Tables A-26 and A-27.

Income levels

85. Average total incomes have been calculated for the British, the French, those of German, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian origin, and all others taken together for Canada, using a 1 per cent sample (Table 3), and for the metropolitan census areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa, using a 20 per cent sample (Table 4).¹ The rank order of the origin categories is remarkably consistent. The Jewish rank first, followed by the British; then come the Germans and the miscellaneous "others," with the Germans ahead in Montreal and Toronto and the "others" ahead in Ottawa; then follow, in descending order, the Ukrainians, the French (ahead of the Ukrainians in Toronto), and the Italians. The section of the labour force that is neither British nor French in origin is, if taken as a whole, distributed in close to the same proportions as the total population between rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban areas, and throughout the occupational structure. However, differences among the separate origin categories are large and are reflected in differences in income.

Table 3. Average Total Income

Average total income of the male non-agricultural labour force and of the total male labour force, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Male non-agricultural labour force		Total male labour force
	Dollars	Index	Index
All origins	4,414	100.0	100.0
British	4,852	109.9	109.8
French	3,872	87.7	85.8
German	4,207	95.3	103.1
Italian	3,621	82.0	81.0
Jewish	7,426	168.2	166.9
Ukrainian	4,128	93.5	86.8
Others	4,153	94.1	98.2

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bélard, "La répartition des revenus."

86. Ethnic origin obviously affects the individual's position in the economic structure, not only for those of British or French origin but for all the peoples of Canada. However, so little research has been done on Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French that it is difficult to be precise about the factors involved in their differen

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III (Ottawa: 1969), chap. I.

economic positions. Some factors are obviously important: these include patterns of settlement, time of arrival, immigrant and ethnic occupations, ethnic values, the incidence of discrimination and exploitation, and the problems created by language barriers. These factors are examined below.

Table 4. Average Total Income—Montreal, Toronto, Ottawa

Average total income of the Canadian male labour force, by metropolitan area and ethnic origin, 1961

Ethnic origin	Montreal		Toronto		Ottawa	
	Income	Index	Income	Index	Income	Index
British	\$ 6,216	131.7	\$ 5,557	109.4	\$ 5,862	114.9
French	4,243	89.9	4,381	86.2	4,281	83.9
German	5,040	106.8	4,770	93.9	4,694	92.0
Italian	3,379	71.6	3,189	62.8	3,624	71.0
Jewish	6,996	148.2	6,658	131.1	9,370	183.6
Ukrainian	4,341	92.0	4,086	80.4	4,612	90.4
Others	4,790	101.5	4,542	89.4	5,100	99.9
Total	4,720	100.0	5,080	100.0	5,103	100.0

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

A. Patterns of Settlement

87. The archetype of the knitting of members of different cultural groups into a modern industrial economic structure is the experience of the 12 million immigrants who entered the United States from south, central, and eastern Europe between 1880 and 1914. Most of them were uprooted peasants who settled in the country's urban centres and entered the economic system at the bottom, as unskilled, non-unionized labour, tending to push into better jobs the earlier immigrants who had now acquired some knowledge of the English language and some understanding of American society. If they found opportunities in the legitimate structure—and opportunities were abundant in the developing economy—they rose through education and initiative into business and the professions. If they did not find such opportunities, some climbed by means of organized crime and legitimized their position later. Some, of course, stayed at or near the bottom, often ignored by believers in the American dream.

The American model

88. This pattern does not apply to all cultural groups in the United States (for example, the Germans and Scandinavians who settled in the Great Plains and political refugees of various eras). It is even less true

Differing Canadian experience

in Canada for four reasons. First, Canada's early development was so slow that some groups entered not in a flood but a trickle. Second, this country had land for those who wanted it long after the frontier in the United States was closed. Third, by the time agriculture was losing its expansionist force here, many of the new immigrants were sophisticated urban residents who arrived with education and skills. Fourth, no sizable cultural group in Canada has stopped receiving substantial additions of immigrants long enough ago for it to have completed a life-cycle as an immigrant group. The diversity in the occupational distributions of the ethnic origin categories listed in the 1961 census reflects all these factors.

89. Three separate patterns of background and settlement may be traced among Canada's ethnic groups: rural immigrants who settled in rural areas; rural immigrants who settled in cities; and urban immigrants who settled in cities. A fourth possible pattern, urban immigrants who settle in rural communities, is unimportant in practice.

Rural settlement

90. The pattern of those with a rural background establishing themselves in rural parts of Canada was dominant throughout the 19th and early 20th century. Outside what is now Quebec, the towns tended to be British, and were generally the centres of the government, the military, and the church. The merchants and industrialists were often Americans of British ethnic origin, and the most turbulent part of the urban proletariat was Irish. Members of other cultural groups were found in the towns, of course, and even among the élite of the towns, but they were frequently people who had immigrated as individuals.

91. The early arrivals, such as the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, often settled on some of the best land. Their high agricultural income is probably related to this fact. Their continued concentration in farming may also be related to it, although some groups, such as the Mennonites and Hutterites, have ways of life and systems of values that provide for the continuation of rural communities. Their emphasis on hard work, frugality, and asceticism, and their practices regarding the socialization of the young and the inheritance of farms, have kept a substantial number of the young in rural communities. In particular, the Hutterites, who have a high birth and low mortality rate, find their problem is not to hold their young people from the attractions of the city but to find new farm lands for their colonies.¹ Their difficulties with the provincial governments in Alberta and Manitoba have resulted from this problem.

92. The central and eastern Europeans who homesteaded on the prairies between 1896 and 1914 were also rural migrants to rural

¹ A. M. Willms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXIV, No. 3 (August, 1958), 398-9.

communities. As Clifford Sifton put it in 1903, "While the United States is getting thousands of *labourers* from Southern Europe who are flocking to their cities and towns, we are getting *agriculturalists* almost without exception who are going directly upon the land."¹ Towns were growing in central Canada at the time, but immigrants were looked upon as desirable in proportion to their readiness to go on the land. Since some of the best land had already been taken (by immigrants from the eastern provinces and from the United States, Great Britain, and western and northern Europe) the Ukrainians, Poles, Roumanians, and other immigrants from eastern Europe, were placed on land of uneven quality, some of it marginal.² Like the Germans, the Ukrainians of this period had a rural way of life. Today, 77 per cent of Canadians whose ethnic origin is Ukrainian are native-born, but they are still disproportionately numerous in agriculture.

93. Sometimes rural migrants were able to develop poor land into prosperous farms by planting new crops and using new farming methods. In Ontario, for example, the counties of Norfolk, Oxford, and Elgin had sandy soil and were depressed areas until Belgian immigrants established tobacco farms there in the 1920's. Even in the Depression these farmers prospered; in the 1950's a local priest estimated that there were about 3,000 tobacco farms, 1,000 of the best of them owned by Belgians, 1,000 more by Hungarians, and the remainder by "Slovaks, German, Poles, Lithuanians, and Canadians."³

94. As Canada has become increasingly industrialized, people of every ethnic background have moved to the cities. Thus the increase in the proportion of Canadians of Ukrainian, German, Dutch, Polish, Russian, and Scandinavian origin who are now urban residents is only partly the result of postwar immigrants settling in the cities. Much of the increase is the result of the native born moving to urban centres.

Shift to the cities

95. This pattern developed in Canada with the construction of the railways and roads necessary to open up the prairie agricultural lands. Immigrants who originally intended to go on the land on their arrival took unskilled or low-skilled labouring jobs, and drifted from work on the railways into construction or factory work in the towns and cities of central Canada. The Irish Roman Catholics established this pattern in the 1840's and 1850's,⁴ but few others followed it until much later, except for some Italians about the turn of the century, chiefly those from the southern part of Italy.

¹ Quoted in Norma E. Walmsley, "Some Aspects of Canada's Immigration Policy," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² See Charles H. Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1931), 54-5.

³ Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 32.

⁴ Kenneth Duncan, "Irish Famine, Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, II, No. 1 (February, 1965), 19-40.

Italian settlement

96. The Italians had probably become mobile and accustomed to wage labour long before their emigration, and their gravitation toward urban centres resulted from a desire to maintain their previous way of life. Having few skills and few resources with which to establish themselves at any but the lowest occupational levels, they entered the urban economic structure at the bottom as factory workers and unskilled or low-skilled labourers, as did the classic immigrants to the United States. Many of them entered construction trades; some went into mining in the West or northern Ontario; their wives took low-skilled and low-paid jobs in the needle trades. Both men and women also went into service occupations. Most post-war Italian immigrants have also been of rural background and have entered the same sorts of occupations as their predecessors.

Hungarian experience

97. The Hungarians studied by John Kosa in Toronto in the 1950's were rural people who had moved to the city, although most had had a brief sojourn on a farm in Canada. They were of "the poor classes" of Hungary, especially the landless peasantry, and came to Canada as adults prior to 1939. Kosa hints that they started in the lowest occupational levels. They gravitated towards business enterprises such as rooming houses, lunch bars, grocery stores, and plumbing and gardening concerns. These enterprises did not require perfect English or much capital and could use the spare-time labour of the family. They gained the financial resources that they required for these enterprises by being thrifty and by not competing for status in housing, food, clothing, and other goods. Once they achieved middle-class incomes, however, they assumed both the occupation and spending patterns of the rest of the community.

98. Other Hungarian immigrants were members of the titled aristocracy who arrived in Canada after World War II. They had been land owners in Hungary, and they despised commerce and industry as unfit for gentlemen. Some of them tried farming in Canada but most were drawn to the cities. They often found their education of little use, and had to work as caretakers, janitors, watchmen, or labourers. In time some found employment with the provincial and federal governments and a few entered specialized occupations as riding instructors or fencing masters. Their economic adjustment was slow, however, compared to that of middle-class immigrants whose past experience and mode of life were more relevant to Canadian urban conditions.¹

Jewish immigration

99. The Jewish group is outstanding among those that came from urban backgrounds in Europe and entered urban communities in Canada. There have been few farmers among Canada's Jewish immigrants. In a letter to John A. Macdonald about the victims of Russian

¹ Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 29-36, 39.

pogroms in the 1880's, Alexander T. Galt noted that they were "partly farmers, but generally trade people."¹ The *shtetl* (small Jewish town or village communities) of eastern Europe, from which Jewish immigrants came in great numbers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were not urban by North American standards and during the days of western settlement a number of schemes to place Jews on the land were planned and a few carried out. Jews also established themselves in agricultural centres as merchants and professionals, providing the European farmers with services that they had been accustomed to receiving from Jews at home.² Jewish immigration has otherwise been almost entirely to urban centres.

100. During the first three-quarters of the 19th century, small Jewish communities existed in Montreal, Toronto, and Victoria. These were made up of German and English Jews who seem to have been men of substance, who participated actively in every sphere of industry and commerce (including the fur trade, the clothing industry, banking, and insurance), medicine, law, and academic life. There must also have been poor Jews since the records of early philanthropic societies mention them, but their occupations are difficult to determine.

101. The first large movement of Jewish people to Canada came about the end of the 19th century. In spite of the skills, business experience, and education that some of the eastern European Jews possessed, they entered the occupational structure at the lowest level. The refugees from Russian pogroms who arrived in Winnipeg in the early 1880's found no shops or factories in which they could work, and had to work in railway, sewer, and building construction. In Montreal and Toronto the garment industry and bakery shops offered many their first employment, while others became peddlers until they could set up small shops. In Canada, as in the United States, they rapidly spread into many other occupations. In Toronto, the 100 candidates whose names were on the ballot of the Canadian Jewish Congress's first plenary session in 1919 "included students, pressers, Hebrew teachers, one *shochet*, a dentist, cloakmakers, small merchants, labour organizers."³

102. Large numbers of post-war refugees and immigrants of many ethnic origins with urban backgrounds have settled in urban communities in Canada. Some have had difficulty in resuming their previous occupations or entering the occupations for which they were trained. The knowledge, skills, and experience of judges, lawyers, and civil

Other urban
immigrants

¹ Quoted in Sack, *History of the Jews in Canada*, I, 262.

² Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 53-5.

³ Ben Kayfetz, "The Jewish Community in Toronto," in *A People and its Faith*, 24. A *shochet* is a ritual slaughterer.

servants are not easily transferred from one society to another. Attaining the necessary proficiency in English or French has been difficult for some immigrants, particularly older ones. Many professional bodies have imposed highly restrictive conditions on immigrants wishing to resume practice on the grounds that maintenance of standards of service must be ensured. In most cases immigrants must spend from two to five years in training and pass qualifying examinations.¹ On the whole, however, the post-war immigrants have fitted quickly into trades, businesses, and professions. Those who brought capital with them have started a considerable number of new enterprises, which have provided employment for thousands of workers.

B. Time of Arrival

103. The pattern of settlement in Canada has to a large extent been governed by the time at which immigrants arrived in the country. Until the beginning of the 20th century, immigrants tended to come from rural backgrounds and to establish themselves on the land; later arrivals tended to come from cities and to settle in Canada's urban centres. According to the 1961 census, those born in Canada had a lower proportion of urban residents than immigrants in every sizable origin category. The immigrants who have come since the end of World War II have an even higher proportion of urban residents than immigrants who arrived earlier (Table 5). The pattern of settlement has also been influenced by the fact that different areas of the country have been developed at different times and new immigrants tend to go to whichever section is expanding when they arrive.

Relation of region to income

104. Region has a strong influence on income in Canada, with low average incomes in the Atlantic Provinces and Quebec (outside metropolitan Montreal), higher incomes in Montreal and the prairies, and highest incomes in Ontario and British Columbia.² It has been noted elsewhere that it is probable that the economic dominance of Ontario and the western provinces and of the non-French component of the labour force is attributable in good part to the tendency of immigrants to affiliate with the Anglophone rather than the Francophone community, and to the heavy flow of immigrants to Ontario.³ The fact that Ukrainians are still concentrated heavily in the prairies, thus, affects their income level. Yet it is certainly possible not to prosper in regions

¹ The arrival in Canada of Czechoslovakian refugees in 1968, many of them professionals, led to discussion of this matter and to special concessions to some Czechoslovakian professionals.

² Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, § 112.

Table 5. Urbanization and Ethnic Origin

Urban percentage of total population, Canadian born, and immigrants, by ethnic origin—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total population	Canadian born	Immigrated before 1946	Immigrated 1946-1961 ¹
British	71.2	69.2	81.0	86.9
French	68.2	68.0	73.0	84.3
Dutch	55.6	52.3	54.5	62.7
German	61.8	56.8	55.9	83.5
Italian	94.7	92.3	91.8	97.0
Jewish	98.8	98.6	98.9	99.4
Polish	76.0	71.8	75.0	88.3
Russian	65.1	60.7	71.7	88.9
Scandinavian	59.9	58.9	55.4	77.7
Ukrainian	65.2	63.3	61.2	90.3
Other European	76.7	69.8	70.8	88.9
Asian	89.3	87.7	88.7	92.8
Not stated	48.7	46.9	79.7	86.6
All origins	69.6	67.5	75.7	86.4

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 99-516.

¹ Includes only the first five months of 1961.

with high income levels. Most Italians have settled in high income regions, but have not shared in the general prosperity because of their lack of skills and education or the fact that they are recent arrivals.

105. The first arrivals of any origin category have, of course, faced a different situation from those who immigrated later. The pioneers had to shift for themselves. Their successors could expect shelter, guidance, protection, and even jobs from relatives already established. They could fit into a set of community institutions, or at least use them before creating new ones.

106. The economic climate in Canada at the time when the immigrants arrived has also affected their prosperity. Immigrants who arrived immediately before a recession, particularly the great Depression of the 1930's, often fared less well than those who have arrived during the long period of prosperity and expansion that has followed World War II. Kosa concluded that the economic struggles of Hungarians in Toronto were prolonged by the Depression although their peasant culture, with its stress on thrift and industry and lack of concern with status symbols, enabled them to weather bad times better than some other Canadians.¹ The Depression certainly affected the economic advance of other cultural groups:

Effects of the
economic climate

¹ Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 33-4.

As a very large part of the Italians in Montreal occupied positions at the lowest levels of the socio-economic hierarchy, they were among the first to be affected by the depression. . . .

In retrospect, and judging from the rate at which the postwar immigrants have been able to forge ahead economically as well as socially, I think that one must say that the depression effectively prevented the prewar generation of Italian immigrants from gaining a larger slice of the Montreal economic and social pie. Many of those who have arrived since the war criticize the prewar immigrants for lack of ambition and failure to make the most of their opportunities. . . . But they overlook the smothering effect the depression had on those who had just begun to establish themselves in their new country.¹

During the post-war period new forms of social security, which many immigrants had been accustomed to receiving at home, were introduced in Canada. Immigrants could now benefit from unemployment insurance and family allowances.

Wartime
discrimination

107. Members of cultural groups from countries on the other side in the two wars suffered economically, especially if they had arrived recently enough still to be highly visible when hostilities began or if they were not self-employed. Urban wage-earners of German origin were greatly affected during both wars, as were urban wage-earners of Italian origin during World War II. Those of Japanese origin were even more affected during World War II through relocation and confiscation of property, for which they were inadequately compensated—and only after many years.²

Sex distribution

108. Until recently immigrants have tended to be predominantly male. Any ethnic origin category with many recent immigrants thus tends to be overrepresented in the labour force because of the distribution by sex and age of immigrants.³ The early Doukhobor arrivals were an exception: they were disproportionately female, because many of the Doukhobor men were in prison at the time of departure. After 1910 Japanese immigration was also marked by a high percentage of women, which served to reduce, although not eliminate, the earlier male surplus among the Japanese. Since Canada has become more urban there has been a trend towards a balanced sex ratio, or even a surplus of females (offset to some extent by an excess of female emigrants to the United States). Virtually all the larger origin categories except the British, French, Jewish, and German still showed a considerable male surplus in 1961. In the population aged 15 years and over, the number of males per 100 females was 189 for those of Chinese origin and over 120 for many European origin categories, including Hungarian, Czech and Slovak, Italian, and Asians other than

¹ J. Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 7.

² A brief submitted to the R.C.B.&B. by the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association.

³ See Appendix III, Table A-27.

Chinese and Japanese. For Poles, Russians, and Scandinavians the number of males per 100 females was slightly over 115.

109. The overrepresentation in the labour force of the ethnic origin categories other than British or French is not limited to males. Immigrant women are overrepresented as compared to native-born women, because of the drive of immigrants to establish themselves economically.¹ In Montreal in 1965, 35 per cent of the wives of Italian immigrants worked, as opposed to 24 per cent of Canadian-born wives of Italian descent. A survey carried out in Toronto found that 24 per cent of a sample of Italian immigrant women worked full-time (the remainder included some who refused to answer as well as those who said they did not work).² In Edmonton, where most of the Italians were immigrants, 46 per cent of the married women in a sample were working either full- or part-time, a large number of them in the garment industry.³

110. Immigrants generally arrive in the prime of life, so the economic position of a group containing a large proportion of immigrants is affected by its low average age. Among Italians in 1961, for example, only one person in six was over 45, while among Jews one in three was over 45, and among Ukrainians and in the population as a whole one in four was over 45. The percentage of Italians over 65 was even lower. It was 3 per cent, as compared to 8 per cent for Jews, 6 per cent for Ukrainians, and 8 per cent for the total Canadian population. The low level of income of the Italians is thus partly related to their youth.

Age distribution

111. The average personal income of Canada's non-farm population aged 15 years and over did not differ greatly in 1960 for native-born, pre-war immigrants, and post-war immigrants. However, the overall figures included those who came from the United States and the United Kingdom, and these groups achieved the highest average incomes.⁴ Even overall figures indicate that it takes several years for immigrants to achieve incomes equalling the Canadian average. There are also important differences between the different non-British origin categories.

Comparative
income levels

112. Thus time of immigration certainly affects the extent of economic differences between the dominant groups in Canadian society and those of other ethnic origins. These differences are greatest at the time of arrival. With the passage of years they diminish, at greatly differing rates for different groups. For example, many people of German and Dutch origin who immigrated before Confederation are

¹ A. H. Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, II, No. 1 (February, 1965), 43-45.

² *Toronto Globe and Mail*, September 28, 1966.

³ Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."

⁴ Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," 43-6.

now in all respects indistinguishable from Canadians of British origin. There are, however, some people of German and Dutch origin who immigrated at the same time but who were isolated, either geographically or because of a sectarian religious faith. These are still distinguishable, though less so than originally. Further research concerning the relationship between economic position, cultural difference from the dominant groups, and ethnic identification will be of great interest and value.

C. Immigrant and Ethnic Occupations

Entrance status occupations 113. The occupational distribution within an ethnic origin category is often related to what has been called "entrance status."

Entrance status implies lower level occupational roles and subjection to processes of assimilation laid down and judged by the charter group. Over time the position of entrance status may be improved or it may be a permanent caste-like status as it has been, for example, with the Chinese in Canada. Thus most of Canada's minority groups have at some time had this entrance status. Some, but not all, have moved out of it.¹

Some immigrants have been recruited and admitted to Canada for specific, and usually lower level, occupations. The occupations that new arrivals enter but later try to avoid are generally those which require little or no skill, have low wage levels, and make few linguistic demands, for example certain jobs in construction, mining, logging, the needle trades, the restaurant industry, and domestic service. If an ethnic origin category has a considerable foreign-born component, it will tend to be overrepresented in the occupations associated with entrance status. The high representation of Italian men among labourers in construction, of Italian, Portuguese, and Greek women in the needle trades, and of Italian, Portuguese, and Negro women in domestic service are all examples of entrance status. Other immigrants have passed through these occupations at varying speeds, depending on their background and the range of other opportunities open to them. For example, Japanese women shunned domestic service after World War II because of their unhappy memories of working in households in British Columbia, and their discovery that they could obtain light factory work.² Until World War II the Japanese seemed to be stuck in entrance status occupations but this situation has since changed dramatically.

¹ John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* (Toronto, 1965), 63-4.

² E. D. Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto—A Product of Crisis" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1956), 26-7.

114. Paradoxically, a number of professions and skilled occupations of relatively high status have been filled largely by immigrants, particularly since World War II. Among them are some medical and scientific fields, drafting, architecture, and electronics. Native-born Canadians seem to have avoided these occupations, or have been unable to get the training required for them, or else have emigrated to the United States after receiving training. In 1965, one very large Montreal engineering firm had 182 Canadians of French origin and 26 of British among its professional workers, besides eight of Italian origin and five of Jewish origin. In addition it employed 133 professionals drawn from 29 different countries as follows:¹

High status
occupations

France	28	India	4	Turkey	2	Lithuania	1
Latvia	19	England	3	VietNam	2	Portugal	1
Hungary	13	Holland	3	Algeria	1	Spain	1
Germany	12	Russia	3	Belgium	1	Trinidad	1
Poland	8	Austria	2	Czecho-		Tunisia	1
Estonia	6	Egypt	2	slovakia	1	Ukraine	1
Yugoslavia	6	Greece	2	Israel	1		
Switzerland	5	Lebanon	2	Jamaica	1		

115. Some of the occupations requiring a high degree of talent and training and having high prestige attract short-term migrants rather than immigrants. "There is an international market for their occupational skills, they enjoy travel for its own sake, they find little difficulty making friends wherever they go, and they lack strong family or community ties that might impel them to become sedentary."² Increasing numbers of performing artists, scientists, skilled technicians, and executives in business and industry come to Canada for a few years while pursuing careers to which national boundaries have little relevance.

Migrant
occupations

116. In addition to immigrant occupations, there are also what may be called "ethnic specialties": occupations for which those of a particular ethnic origin are thought to have a special affinity and in which they thus have an advantage in attracting clients or customers and in developing skills and connections. Unskilled construction work is an immigrant occupation; skilled construction work is not. It has become an ethnic specialty of the Italians, just as *haute couture* and *grande cuisine* are for the French, and the restaurant business is for the Chinese and Greeks. Italians tend to specialize even within the construction industry:

Ethnic specialties

They [the Italians] have brought from their homeland certain skills in which they have been leaders, probably for centuries, and their leadership is still

¹ P. C. Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

² A. H. Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), 252.

in evidence today. This applied particularly to the "trowel" trades; terazzo work, tile setting, cement finishing, plastering and bricklaying.... By contrast, Italians have made virtually no mark at all on the mechanical trades, for which a different and more North American-oriented type of training is required, and which also require greater capital investment.¹

Because the construction industry is not only an immigrant occupation for many Italians but also an ethnic specialty it has played a large part in drawing Italian immigrants to Toronto. Virtually every aspect of the life of the Italians who came to Canada between 1951 and 1956 was intertwined with the construction industry. Not only their work but the fact that they immigrated, where they settled, and many of their social activities were all influenced by the industry.²

117. Within such an ethnic specialty, members of one ethnic origin category work both for and with members of other groups. For example, the Italians in construction in Montreal work with members of other origin categories who are entrepreneurs, financiers, professionals (such as architects and consulting engineers), technicians, and inspectors.³

Ethnic
enterprises

118. Often a substantial portion of a cultural group is employed in serving the particular wants of that group. They may provide goods and services that only members of their own ethnic group desire (such as Matzos and Kosher wine); or that the host society is hesitant to supply (such as haircuts for Negroes); or that the members of the group do not want to receive from strangers (such as religious or medical services); or that are especially related to immigration (such as travel agencies that help immigrants bring their relatives to Canada). Those who supply such goods and services often also furnish jobs for other members of the same group and teach them skills in the process, so that while they rise to middle-class status they also help others to rise.

119. Ethnic enterprises of this nature require a sufficiently large group to serve in order to survive, but they do not necessarily require residential concentration, as long as the business and institutional centre of the group is known and accessible.⁴ Although many post-war immigrants have not formed concentrated areas of settlement, they have sometimes supported established ethnic enterprises or helped start new ones. Ethnic enterprises also depend on the habits of saving and on the investment preferences of the group being served.⁵

¹ Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

² Samuel Sidlofsky, "Post-War Immigrants in the Changing Metropolis with Special Reference to Toronto's Italian Population" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1969).

³ Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

⁴ John Kosa, "Hungarian Immigrants in North America: Their Residential Mobility and Ecology," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, XXII, No. 3 (August, 1956), 363.

⁵ Nathan Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting-Pot* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), 33-4.

120. Both the Italians and the Jews, the two most highly urbanized of the larger cultural groups in Canada, have developed many ethnic enterprises to serve their own people. In Italian neighbourhoods in Montreal there are clusters of specialty food shops, cafés, and small businesses such as photographers, tailors, and cobblers all run by Italians, largely for an Italian clientele. In Toronto they have been described as not only the most concentrated and most segregated of the ethnic origin categories but the most institutionally self-sufficient except for the British. "It is possible to undertake almost any activity and to meet practically every need, without resort to English."¹ Italians in Windsor have also developed an elaborate service structure.²

121. The Jewish communities, especially in Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg, have many members who make their living filling the special wants of the group, such as rabbis and teachers of Hebrew, and operators of meat, poultry, and fish shops, bakeries, delicatessens, and restaurants. The Jews have had notable success in expanding ethnic enterprises into major business concerns serving the general population, so that, for example, a small family bakery has become a sizable chain, or a restaurant-delicatessen has grown into a large smoked meat business.

122. The Negroes in Canada have not developed an extensive system of businesses serving their own ethnic group. In Toronto in the 1950's, Negroes were accepted as clients and customers by white professionals and businessmen, and as professionals and businessmen by white clients and customers. Negro professionals or those operating businesses did not operate exclusively or even primarily within the Negro community. The one exception was two Negro barber-shops which had a considerable Negro clientele.³

123. Before World War II the Japanese in Vancouver had a "tightly integrated, economically interdependent community with a densely concentrated population and with facilities designed to provide for all the economic, social, cultural and religious needs of the group." But even then Canadian-born Japanese had fewer distinctive wants and less pronounced loyalties than did the new arrivals. Since the crises of relocation, there has been almost no re-establishment of specifically Japanese residential and business areas.⁴

¹ A. H. Richmond, "Immigrants and Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Toronto: A Preliminary Study" (multilithed, 1966), 20.

² Rudolf A. Helling, "The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario," Report submitted to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (December, 1965), 36-7.

³ D. G. Hill, "Negroes in Toronto: A Sociological Study of a Minority Group" (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Toronto, 1960), 117, 122, 125.

⁴ Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 4, 23-4.

D. Ethnic Values

124. Little research has been done in Canada on what has enabled some groups to rise faster and further in the economic hierarchy than others, but it seems likely that cultural characteristics have a considerable influence on the diversity in economic status among different groups. Ethnic identity¹ often affects behaviour and values that influence occupational choices, work habits, and spending, saving, and investment practices.

Influence of
religion

125. It has already been demonstrated that there is a significant relationship between economic behaviour and certain religions.² What evidence there is indicates that this relationship between religion and income also applies in Canada. For example, John Porter found by examining the 1951 census tracts of Halifax, Ottawa-Hull, Windsor, and Winnipeg that higher incomes were related to Protestantism and lower incomes to Catholicism, and that French origin could not explain the whole disadvantage of Catholicism.³ This predominance of Protestantism is particularly interesting since, although urbanism is usually associated with high average incomes, several strongly rural ethnic groups, such as the Germans, Dutch, and Scandinavians, are Protestant, whereas the highly urban Italians are Roman Catholic. Of course some of the Protestant sects, within the German and Dutch ethnic origin groups, are largely rural because of their strongly isolationist beliefs but are still wealthy. The Amish⁴ and Hutterites are two examples.

126. The great variety among the Protestant denominations in Canada is reflected to some extent in the economic attitudes and behaviour of their members. Some of the more evangelical branches of Protestantism, in addition to motivating their believers to hard work, asceticism, and investment, disapprove of certain very lucrative forms of enterprise such as tobacco-growing, the liquor industry, the arts, professional sports, and the entertainment field.

127. Some of the cultural groups that are largely Roman Catholic have not been in Canada long enough for anyone to know how great or rapid their economic mobility will be. The Italians appear to rise quickly in the economic scale. In Montreal, for example:

Almost 50 per cent of the immigrants were small farmers or agricultural labourers in Italy. Once in Canada they have moved into jobs as labourers

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction §§ 7-8.

² Max Weber, "Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, XX and XXI (1904-5); English translation by Talcott Parsons, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London, 1930).

³ Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 101.

⁴ E. C. and H. M. Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers* (Glencoe, Ill 1952), 24.

and factory workers. Many of their children, however, leave manual occupations for white-collar work, becoming businessmen and shop owners (24 per cent), professional and technical specialists (10 per cent), clerical workers (14 per cent), and salesmen and shop attendants (9 per cent). Thus, while only 14 per cent of the immigrant generation work in white-collar occupations, 57 per cent of the second and third generation Italians do. . . . Almost without exception, teachers, lawyers, doctors, specialists, leading industrialists and business executives of Italian descent are the sons of Italian peasants who worked as unskilled and semi-skilled industrial and construction labourers in Montreal.¹

Although the rise of the Italians was hampered by the Depression, sons of immigrants who arrived during the early years of the century in some cases became owners and managers of businesses and industries and thus major employers of post-war Italian immigrants in Montreal and Toronto.

128. The role of the Jews in the arts and entertainment deserves special mention. In a country where the arts have not yet attained full maturity or recognition, a disproportionately large number of Jews are novelists, poets, actors, directors, producers, playwrights, musicians, painters, sculptors, and booksellers. Other cultural and social factors have also contributed to this trend, but it has been observed that, with the breakdown of religious conviction more than a century ago, much of the traditional Jewish reverence for the rabbi and the Talmudic scholar has been transferred to the writer, the creative artist, and the secular intellectual. The arts thus serve as a substitute for the ethical instruction of religion. This applies particularly to literature, but it also carries over to other art forms.

129. Since World War II many immigrants have come from countries and milieux in which there has been a marked breakdown in religious conviction. Some immigrants, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish in background, have begun to practise their religion in Canada, although they had previously not done so. They appear to feel that religious practice is required in Canada either by their cultural group or by society at large. The extent to which secularization has diminished the differences in the economic behaviour of members of different faiths would be an interesting subject for research.

130. Religion affects economic position in another way because of its relation to education. Occupation and income levels are closely related to educational levels. While access to schools and ability to pay for education dictate the educational level of a cultural group to some extent, so does the value set on learning or on particular types of education. These values are in turn related not only to religion, but also to class position and other factors.

Role of
education

¹ Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 14-15.

131. In the past, particularly during the early periods of agricultural expansion, some cultural groups were not greatly concerned about raising their educational level. For example, lower-class British immigrants in the 19th century often shared the view of their upper-class compatriots that education was a class prerogative. Sectarian groups, such as the Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites, believed in limited education. They wished their children to be literate, for literacy was essential for the preservation of their faith and language, but they were suspicious of the English language and of higher education, fearing that both would expose their young people to the temptations of the world.

132. Those of Icelandic origin were exceptional in their high regard for education. Lord Dufferin, reporting on his visit to the first permanent Icelandic settlement in Canada, Nyja Island in Manitoba, noted: "I have not entered a single hut or cottage in the settlement which did not contain, no matter how bare its walls, or scanty its furniture, a library of twenty or thirty volumes." In several Icelandic communities, schools were among the first buildings erected and sometimes teaching began even before the school was built. It is also interesting to note that the Icelanders agreed to send their children to public schools where English was the language of instruction before provision was made in 1897 for instruction in a second language in the public schools of Manitoba.¹

133. Since the turn of the century, but particularly since World War II, most cultural groups seem to value education highly. The emphasis placed on education by the Jews is well known, and is found in Canada as elsewhere. Respect for learning is an important element of Jewish culture, and has possibly been reinforced by discrimination. One result is that Jews enter the labour force at a later age than members of other cultural groups. Only 47 per cent of Jewish males between 15 and 24 years of age are in the labour force, compared to 61 per cent of the male labour force.² The Japanese have demonstrated a similar interest in education.

134. It appears that cultural groups with no tradition of placing a high value on education have in Canada shown interest in it as a means to economic and social advance. For example, the Ukrainians who came to Canada before World War I had little education themselves and belonged to faiths which had not demonstrated much interest in education, particularly scientific education. However, they had been influenced by an increased interest in education in the Ukraine:

A mass movement for "enlightenment", which meant striving for knowledge and education in general, was initiated in 1868 by the formation of a

¹ Lindal, *The Icelanders in Canada*, 154, 171-4.

² See Appendix II, Table A-23.

cultural-education institution *Prosvita* in Lviv [Lvov]. A net of branches spread throughout the villages and towns of Western Ukraine. Although at first it was restricted in its activities to folk-craft and folklore, the seed for knowledge and self-development was implanted in the minds and hearts of the masses. This organization had a great influence on succeeding generations, broadening their intellectual horizons. Many Ukrainian organizations in Canada patterned their program of activities after this parent body, even attaching the name *Prosvita* (which means "enlightenment") to their community halls.¹

135. In Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the early years of the 20th century, Ukrainian teachers were recruited from among young immigrants to teach in schools in Ukrainian communities. Many also encouraged adult education, and continued their own studies to qualify for occupations other than teaching. Although the general level of education of those of Ukrainian origin is still comparatively low it is rising quickly.

136. Italians also have shown considerable interest in education, and there is ample evidence that the motivation has been largely economic, at least in Montreal:

As most Italians are Roman Catholic, most send their children to schools run by the Roman Catholic School Board [*sic*] of Montreal. Immigrants, however, are faced with a choice as to which language they wish their children to be educated in . . . three out of four Italian Canadians send their children to English schools. . . .

What accounts for the popularity of English as opposed to French schools? This is a question which we asked many informants. Their answers were usually unequivocal. They told us that it was only natural for immigrants to send their children to English schools because if they knew English it would be easier for them to get jobs. Moreover by knowing English they could more easily move to other parts of Canada, or to the United States for that matter, in their search of better job. . . .

Fully two-thirds gave economic reasons for their choice of English: 31 per cent said that English facilitated moving to other parts of Canada; 24 per cent said that it was easier to get jobs with a knowledge of English; 9 per cent said English is the most important language of North America; and 1 per cent noted that English is the language of most influential businessmen in Montreal.²

137. Post-war immigrants have not only had higher levels of education than the earlier arrivals but have tended to come from groups within their societies that valued education. Those from central and eastern Europe have frequently been members of the intelligentsia. An increased emphasis on education and training as a requirement for immigration and employment has also contributed to this trend.

¹ Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 18 n.

² Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 37-8.

Other influences

138. Cultural differences also appear to influence economic advancement in other ways. Since there is little information about these factors we can only suggest some that may be important. For example, in the modern Canadian economy geographical mobility seems to be positively correlated with social mobility. Members of some cultural groups are more reluctant to move than others. Cultural factors such as how important familial and extra-familial relationships are, how distinct the group's wants are, and what their goals are, all exert some influence on the individual's willingness to move. Risk-taking seems to be another cultural variable, and one crucial to economic attainment in the modern world. Jews appear to accept the risks of expansion and speculation while members of certain other groups appear reluctant to take the chances involved in expanding a small but secure enterprise into a larger one.

Concepts of property

139. Another cultural characteristic which influences economic status is the value placed upon property ownership. Italians place great importance on owning their homes, and members of Italian families perform almost incredible feats of saving in order to purchase a house and pay off the mortgage. It appears that the less the acculturation of Italians in Edmonton, the more likely they were to own property in Canada.¹ Kosa found that the Hungarians he studied in Toronto also valued owning property, but usually bought rooming houses or boarding houses which provided income in return for the part-time labour of members of the family. When their income levels improved they bought single-family dwellings.² The different attitudes of those of different cultural groups towards property is another area which warrants research.

E. Discrimination and Exploitation

140. Discrimination is sometimes considered the most important factor leading to differences in the economic positions of different cultural groups. However, it is difficult to discuss the influence of discrimination except as a residual factor, for three reasons. First, it is difficult to prove. In Canada discrimination has rarely been directly expressed in laws or by-laws, although it has sometimes been indirectly expressed in general laws that have had a severe impact on particular cultural groups. Several of its more overt forms are now proscribed by law. This has not resulted in the disappearance of discrimination, but has made it assume more covert forms. Second, discrimination is difficult to measure even when its existence seems beyond dispute. Prejudice

¹ Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."

² Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 33-4.

may be measured, but while prejudice and discrimination are related they do not always coincide. Prejudiced attitudes do not always lead to discriminatory behaviour, and discriminatory behaviour is sometimes practised by the unprejudiced.¹ Segregation can also be measured, but segregation and discrimination do not always coincide either.² Third, the economic effects of discrimination are not the same for all groups; discrimination seems to spur some groups on to outstanding achievement while it limits the economic advancement of others.

141. One reason that there has been little discriminatory legislation in Canada has been the discriminatory nature of our immigration policy. White British subjects and Americans have been preferred,³ and Asians and Negroes have been restricted, in fact sometimes almost excluded. These policies have been justified on various grounds, such as maintaining the ethnic balance in the population or prohibiting the entry of persons unable to adapt to the Canadian climate. Such policies have become increasingly hard to defend as Canadians have become more sensitive to human rights, and there have been a number of recent declarations that discrimination on racial or ethnic lines will be eradicated, for example the White Paper on Immigration which was tabled in the House of Commons by the Minister of Manpower and Immigration in October 1966.⁴

Discriminatory
immigration
policies

142. The Asians in British Columbia have been the primary victims of legal discrimination in Canada. Until after World War II they were excluded from such professions as law and pharmacy, and denied access to certain occupations, including employment on contracts from the Department of Public Works, because they were not on provincial or municipal voters' lists. The war brought special legal measures directed against those of Japanese origin, including confiscation of their property and evacuation from the coast; a considerable number were also repatriated to Japan after the war.⁵ The Hutterites in Alberta have also suffered discrimination through provincial legislation restricting the expansion of Hutterite colonies.

Legal
discrimination

143. More common than legal discrimination have been such practices as refusal to hire or promote members of a particular group, failure to give equal pay for equal work, and exclusion from a school,

Other
discriminatory
practices

¹ Peter I. Rose, *They and We: Racial and Ethnic Relations in the United States* (New York, 1964), 79–83.

² See Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts, and Ronald Davies, *Durban: A Study in Racial Equality* (London, 1958).

³ Citizens of France were only moved into the same category as British and American immigrants in 1948. However it should be noted that the French government has never encouraged its citizens to emigrate.

⁴ Canada, Department of Manpower and Immigration, *Canadian Immigration Policy, 1966*, White Paper on Immigration, October 1966 (Ottawa, 1966).

⁵ See Woodsworth, *Canada and the Orient*, pp. 132–143; La Violette, *The Canadian Japanese and World War II*, 295–7.

college, or training programme or restriction of the number admitted, either by requiring particularly high qualifications or by setting a quota. Such practices used to be carried on openly. For example, advertisements in newspapers or signs posted at factory doors stated that no members of a specific cultural group need apply, or applicants were told that they would be happier working among their own kind. Such discrimination has declined and what remains has become covert. Certain groups such as Negroes, Asians, and Jews have frequently been the objects of this type of discrimination, but new immigrants from all groups have had to face it to some extent; for example, there have been cases of signs saying: "No English [or sparrows, or chirpers] need apply."

144. As members of virtually every group have experienced discrimination, so members of almost every group have practised it, even upon those of the same ethnic background. The exploitation of Italian workers in the construction trade, and of Greek workers in restaurants, has sometimes been at the hands of other Italians and Greeks. For example, in the Windsor area:

Under the *padrone* system, an employer, usually a sub-contractor in the construction field, imports his workers directly from Italy. Newly-arrived workers are docile and ignorant of wages and working conditions in this country. The *padrone* has also forwarded the passage money and workers are indebted to their employer. In addition, the *padrone* frequently runs a boarding house for his workers. This way, workers are in virtual bondage to their bosses. Normally the ignorance of the workers is sufficient to enforce the system; sometimes the "evil eye" of an enforcer gets better results.¹

Or in Toronto:

Discrimination against immigrants does not appear to have been widespread, but a provincial Royal Commission reported in 1962 that there was some evidence of exploitation of the Italian immigrants in the construction industry in Ontario. Immigrants were being paid between 85 cents and \$1.50 an hour compared with an average for construction workers in all of Canada of \$1.94 an hour. The Commission found that some employers were not paying overtime rates or providing statutory holidays with pay and some were defaulting on wage cheques. Other employers and foremen were demanding a "kick-back" from workers as a condition of employment. Some employers were not paying statutory contributions for workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance. Attempts to organize immigrant workers in the construction industry in Toronto into trade unions during 1960 and 1961 resulted in considerable opposition from employers which, in some cases, caused the violent disturbances that led to the setting up of the Royal Commission.²

¹ Helling, "The Position of Negroes, Chinese and Italians in the Social Structure of Windsor, Ontario," 35.

² Richmond, "The Standard of Living of Post War Immigrants in Canada," 45-6.

145. Some evidence concerning the incidence of alleged discrimination can be obtained from the cases reported to human rights commissions. Tables 6 and 7 indicate the number of formal and informal complaints concerning job discrimination received by the Ontario Human Rights Commission in metropolitan Toronto from June 1962 to November 1966 and the final disposition of the complaint. Formal complaints are those falling within the legal jurisdiction of the Ontario Human Rights Commission; informal complaints are those not covered by the Human Rights Code. In that period of time, in addition to the complaints about job discrimination listed in the two Tables, there were 151 complaints about application forms, advertisements, and oral inquiries. It should be noted that the number of complaints received by the Human Rights Commission from members of a particular religious, political, or ethnic group gives some indication not only of the employment

Table 6. Formal Job Discrimination Complaints in Metropolitan Toronto, June 1962 to November 1966

Identification of the plaintiff	Disposition of Complaint			Total
	Settled	Dismissed	Concilia- tion in progress	
Negro	12	34	6	52
Jewish	4	12		16
Italian	1	6		7
East Indian	1	5		6
German	3	1		4
Oriental	4			4
Hungarian	1	1	1	3
Naturalized Canadian	2			2
Non-Italian	1		1	2
Ukrainian	1	1		2
American		1		1
Armenian	1			1
Austrian			1	1
Czechoslovak		1		1
English		1		1
Iraqi	1			1
Irish		1		1
Non-Greek	1			1
Plymouth Brethren		1		1
Polish		1		1
Political Creed		1		1
Roumanian		1		1
Total	33	68	9	110

Source: Records of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

Table 7. Informal Job Discrimination Complaints in Metropolitan Toronto, June 1962 to November 1966

Identification of plaintiff	Disposition of Complaint				Total
	Settled	Dismissed	Conciliation in progress	Other	
Negro	2	6			8
Jewish	1	4			5
Roman Catholic		3			3
Canadian		1			1
Canadian Indian	1				1
Chinese				1*	1
Discriminatory job orders filled			1		1
French		1			1
German	1				1
Nazi		1			1
Non-Canadian	1				1
Polish		1			1
Ukrainian		1			1
Total	6	18	1	1	26

Source: Records of the Ontario Human Rights Commission.

* This case was transferred to the Federal Fair Employment Practices Division since it involved a company regulated by the federal government.

experiences of those in this category but also of their awareness of the existence of the Human Rights Commission and their readiness to call upon it.

146. It has been suggested that discrimination may be a factor in the emigration of those of non-British origin to the United States:

If second generation Canadians experience barriers to mobility because of their ethnic origins they may be diverted to what they believe to be and, in all probability is, a more mobile society for them. The very small ethnic representation in our elite groups . . . suggests that the chances of achieving the top positions are few. Selections and promotion procedures in the middle levels, governed by Canada's British origin charter group, may impose difficulties for those of European and other "origins."¹

Jewish experience

147. Two cultural groups that have been the targets for discrimination, although they rank high in occupational status, are the Jewish and the Japanese. The Jews also rank high in income, partly because many are self-employed business owners or professionals, and because

¹ Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*, 57-8.

members of the Jewish group are generally well educated. These high levels of self-employment and education are to some degree responses to discrimination. Of the Jewish non-agricultural male work force, 42 per cent are self-employed, compared to between 9 and 15 per cent self-employed for the British, French, Germans, Italians, Ukranians, and all other origins taken together.¹ Because they are self-employed, Jews tend to remain in the work force until late in life; 47 per cent of Jewish males 65 and over are in the labour force, compared to 28 per cent of the male population as a whole and 26 per cent of Italians. They also enter the labour force late, because of their concern with education.

148. In the past certain occupations, including engineering and teaching, were considered to be virtually closed to Jews and as a result very few Jews even tried to become engineers or teachers. Since World War II most of these older barriers seem to have broken down, but research suggests that discrimination, or anticipation of discrimination, still influences the occupational distribution of Jews. Jews have specialized successfully as sub-contractors in the mechanical trades in Montreal, because Jewish engineers feel they have difficulty progressing as professionals and therefore turn to other applications of their training, such as mechanical contracting. Their firms then profit from being headed by persons with advanced professional training. The predominance of Jews in real estate development is also due in part to the impression that senior management positions in companies controlled by members of the predominant British or French groups are closed to them.²

149. The Japanese before World War II also had high levels of self-employment and education, but the legal restrictions and prejudice they faced were so severe that they could not flourish and they often found themselves forced to work within the Japanese group. After the war they dispersed to cities in central Canada, where less discrimination was directed against them and they were able to escape their dependence on their group. In pre-war Vancouver the goal of most Japanese families was to operate a small business, such as a grocery or cleaning store, a dressmaking business, or a restaurant, where, through the unpaid labour of all the family, a living could be eked out. Some of these family businesses exist today and, having started out again, built up large businesses. There are also still skilled workers who aim at setting up their own establishments. In addition there are quite a large number of professionals, doctors, and lawyers, who are self-employed. However, the majority of the Japanese are content to remain salaried

Japanese
experience

¹ Raynauld, Marion, and Béland, "La répartition des revenus."
² Briant, "Ethnic Relationships in the Construction Industry on the Island of Montreal."

employees, for it became clear that economic security, middle-class status, and a good standard of living could thus be achieved.

150. It is now possible to detect a different attitude among current university students and older graduates. The older professionals still want to be independent, while the new students are content to work for larger firms. Thus, paradoxically, although it caused so much suffering, the evacuation of the Japanese eventually improved their social and economic position in Canada.

By breaking up the rigid hierarchy of the integrated ethnic community, by removing the Japanese from a particularly hostile environment and by eventually awakening public opinion to the many forms of legal discrimination aimed against this one minority group, the evacuation indirectly unleashed the positive forces necessary to secure political equality and economic opportunity for the Japanese Canadians. This achievement, for which Japanese and other Canadians worked together, has done much to mitigate, though not yet to erase, the bitterness and sense of injustice engendered by the events in the years following on Pearl Harbour.¹

151. Whatever its economic consequences for the group as a whole, discrimination is always injurious to the individual against whom it is practised and to the society in which it exists. We have stated earlier that we were not asked by our terms of reference to deal with fundamental human rights;² however, we feel it is appropriate to review the steps which have been taken in Canada in this area.

Recommendation 1

152. The Canada Fair Employment Practices Act is more than 15 years old. The Canadian Bill of Rights was adopted in 1960. There is now some legislation in each province prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, in one or more of accommodation, services, or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted, in employment, or in trade union membership. In most provinces it has been recognized that the victims of discrimination often need assistance to take action under human rights legislation, and full-time administrators of human rights legislation have therefore been provided. Further, since government is now a major employer of labour and a major purveyor of services, in most provinces the prohibitions against discrimination have been made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We endorse these steps and **we recommend that all provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so; and that**

¹ Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 149. See also 26-8.

² See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 65-6.

this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their human rights legislation.

F. Language Barriers

153. Lack of fluency in at least one of the official languages of Canada is obviously a barrier to participation in Canadian life, and one which is often first felt in the economic sphere. Since Canada receives immigrants from many countries where neither English nor French is the language of daily life, they are inevitably handicapped by this lack and it is essential that we attempt to minimize this handicap by making available facilities for learning the official languages of the country. Such facilities should be available both to young people in conjunction with their education¹ and to adults in conjunction with their work.

154. Public and private agencies now sponsor programmes for teaching English and French to immigrants. The federal government enters into agreements with the provinces to reimburse them for the expense of language textbooks used by adult immigrants in programmes of language instruction, and for half the teaching costs of citizenship instruction (including English or French) for adult immigrants. A federal programme of adult occupational training provides living allowances for those taking language training. Applicants may be referred for language training if it is necessary in order to place them in jobs; living allowances are paid if they have been members of the labour force in their own countries prior to emigration, or if they have dependents.

155. Provincial and municipal agencies have also been active in providing instruction in language and citizenship. Churches, social agencies, and industries that employ recent immigrants in considerable number have also sponsored language classes, at times showing considerable ingenuity in reaching women with young children, the elderly, and others who do not have access to other means of instruction.

156. Unfortunately, although the sponsors and teachers of language classes tend to start out with great enthusiasm, they often lose this if their students fail to progress or discontinue their studies. These failures may result from a lack of training in second-language instruction, teaching aids, and up-to-date textbooks. It is imperative that those engaged in teaching the official languages have knowledge of and access to the most effective methods of teaching. The Language Research

¹ See below, § 383.

Council, which has already been recommended in our Book on education, will make this possible.¹ The Council's research and development activities related to second-language teaching in Canada will necessarily be concerned not only with the teaching of English to French-speaking students and of French to English-speaking students, but also with the teaching of the official languages to students having other mother tongues. In time we hope the Language Research Council will be concerned with the problems relating to all the languages spoken in Canada.

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II (Ottawa, 1968), § 712.

157. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have contributed to Canadian political life in a variety of capacities: as voters, as members of interest groups and political parties, and as participants in governmental institutions and in the public service. In all these capacities, their cultural backgrounds have helped to shape and develop their points of view. Their contribution has been significant, although in some instances it has been limited by their lack of conviction that they have a role to play in the political process, or by the prejudice and discrimination of others.

158. There is no easy way to assess the political activities and achievements of Canadians of any specific ethnic origin or cultural identity. The assumptions underlying our political system are individualist and rationalist, and disregard such matters as background, emotional ties, or group activities. Political scientists have come to recognize the gulf between theory and practice, but in Canada they have just begun to explore the significance of the ethnic factor in the political process. As a result, what little statistical data there is is often unreliable.¹

¹ John Meisel and Mildred Schwartz are among the pioneers in this area. Some work was also done by Roman March while at Carleton University. We would like to acknowledge our use of his work, that of his students, and his extensive collection of data. Most of the other statistical information used in this chapter has been taken from secondary sources such as Pierre G. Normandin, ed., *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide* (Ottawa, 1968); *Who's Who in Canada* (Toronto, 1968); and *The Canadian Almanac and Directory for 1969* (Toronto, 1969). There were often large gaps in the material available; where possible these were filled by adapting information collected for other purposes. Where statistics for ethnic origin or nationality were unavailable, figures for language or religion were used, although it is recognized that the margin of error is large.

A. Modes of Political Expression

1. Voting patterns

159. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have usually first become involved in the political life of the country as individual citizens by voting in elections. In the early years of mass immigration newcomers to Canada received the right to naturalization and the franchise three years after they arrived. Later the time required was increased to five years.

Franchise
limitations

160. Canadian residents have been excluded from the franchise on two grounds, race and exemption from military service. Chinese, Japanese, and East Indians, even if Canadian born, were excluded from the provincial franchise in British Columbia on the basis of race for many years. For part of that time this policy also excluded them from the federal franchise since those who were disqualified because of race from voting in their own provincial elections were also disqualified from voting in federal elections. Japanese veterans were granted the vote in British Columbia in 1931, but other Asians in that province only received federal and provincial voting rights in the late 1940's. The municipal franchise was gained at the same time.

161. The Doukhobors, Mennonites, Hutterites, and other sectarians have at various times and places in Canada paid for their military service exemptions by disenfranchisement. British Columbia did not enfranchise the Doukhobors, except for individuals who had done military service in wartime, until 1957.

Motivation to vote

162. Members of certain cultural groups have been more eager than others to obtain naturalization. This has not always been because of a desire to vote; in many instances it has been in order to obtain title to land, or the right to sponsor relatives as immigrants. Interest in exercising the right to vote has probably been greatest in areas where a particular cultural group has been concentrated, and where members of that group have therefore felt that their votes would carry some weight and would not be submerged by those of voters whose viewpoints were very different. A recent study concluded that a desire to participate in Canadian political life was second only to a desire for a sense of belonging permanently to Canada among the reasons given by immigrants for wanting to become Canadian citizens.¹

Discrimination

163. Although the feeling that an individual's vote could have little impact has deterred voting, hostility and suspicion on the part of the receiving society has been an even greater deterrent. There was often

¹ Richmond, *Post-War Immigrants in Canada*, 204.

considerable apprehension that immigrants would not employ the franchise well. For example, J. S. Woodsworth wrote in 1909:

Our democratic institutions are the outcome of centuries of conflict by which to some extent we have been fitted for self-government. It is as absurd as it is dangerous to grant to every newly arrived immigrant the full privilege of citizenship. Just what qualifications should be required cannot be discussed here. The next reform should look to the restriction rather than the extension of the franchise.¹

164. However, Woodsworth did exempt the members of certain cultural groups from these charges. He praised the Icelanders for being "natural politicians," who only a few years after their arrival were to be found actively participating in elections, belonging to Liberal and Conservative clubs, and discussing Canadian political issues seriously and intelligently. At the time he wrote, there were two Icelandic members in the Manitoba legislature.

165. In 1914 the right to naturalization was suspended for all alien residents and in 1919 the suspension was extended for ten years for aliens from former enemy countries; this suspension was lifted in 1923. In addition to preventing many immigrants from being enfranchised, these suspensions also bred considerable resentment, which was often directed towards the Conservative party which was then in power in Ottawa. The government's suspension of access to naturalization for aliens contributed to a belief that the Conservatives were less hospitable to members of other cultural groups than the Liberal, CCF, and Social Credit parties. This suspicion was very widely held until the late 1950's.

166. Participation in politics by those of ethnic origin other than British or French increased considerably after the limits on naturalization were removed in 1923. This in turn led to a sharp increase in fear of this participation and resulted in heightened activity by the Orange Order, and a brief appearance of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada, particularly in Saskatchewan. These organizations, which coupled suspicions of the more recent immigrant groups with the older fear of French-speaking Roman Catholics, recruited support from residents of British origin and those who identified with them, such as those of Scandinavian origin.²

167. These activities and the general animosity towards those of non-British origin declined with the change in the characteristics of immigrants in the 1920's, the onset of the Depression, the coming of

¹ Woodsworth, *Strangers within Our Gates*, 288.

² Patrick Kyba, "Ballots and Burning Crosses—The Election of 1929," in Norman Ward and Duff Spafford, eds., *Politics in Saskatchewan* (Toronto, 1968), 105.

Federal election
patterns

age of second-generation immigrants who were both literate and fluent in English, and the decline of immigration in the 1930's.

168. Restrictions of voting rights based on "race" or ethnic origin have disappeared over the last two decades. Higher levels of education and sophistication on the part of both immigrant and native-born Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have also led to greater political interest and activity, particularly concerning Canada's role in international affairs. Those who share a particular ethnic origin have often become too differentiated to constitute any kind of united group. There are even greater diversities between the members of various cultural groups who have little in common except their non-British, non-French background. Studies of voting patterns in the federal election of 1962 found it difficult to discern patterns relating to ethnic origin. However, constituencies identified in the 1961 census as having many immigrants who have arrived in Canada since 1946 have tended to support the New Democratic party.¹

Provincial
patterns

169. There have been some studies of ethnic voting in provincial elections in the Prairie Provinces. They indicate that those of origin other than British or French, who make up about half the population, have until recently tended to vote disproportionately for the CCF and Social Credit parties.² In the early years of the CCF in Saskatchewan, its rural leaders tended to be drawn from those with superior status in the community, and hence to be British in ethnic origin. "Scandinavians, who are the social equals of Britishers in the West," were also disproportionately represented.³ The CCF's supporters were also mainly of British and Scandinavian origin, but after 1934 it made great gains among those of Ukrainian origin, and they have continued to give the party strong support.⁴ Social Credit apparently also received early support in Alberta from "large numbers of the poorer members of foreign-language groups like the Ukrainians, Scandinavians, and Germans."⁵ More recently, it has been shown that those with ethnic origins in central and eastern Europe, who make up about 78 per cent of the non-British, non-French population on the prairies, have been strong and consistent supporters of the CCF and Social Credit parties.⁶

¹ John Meisel, "Conclusion: An Analysis of the National (?) Results," in John Meisel, ed., *Papers on the 1962 Election* (Toronto, 1964), 284.

² Richard Baird, "The Slavic Vote," in *Slavs in Canada*, I, 158-9; see also Andrew Milnor, "The New Politics and Ethnic Revolt: 1929-1938," in *Politics in Saskatchewan*, 151-77.

³ S. M. Lipset, "Leadership and New Social Movements," in A. W. Gouldner, ed., *Studies in Leadership* (New York, 1965), 348-9.

⁴ S. M. Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), 206-9.

⁵ John A. Irving, *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta* (Toronto, 1959), 250.

⁶ M. Stein and R. R. March, "Ethnicity, Regionalism and Federal Leadership" (unpublished lecture, Centennial Lecture Series, Carleton University, Ottawa, 1967), 8-10.

170. Studies of ethnic voting patterns in municipal elections are rare. One in Edmonton showed that the amount of support given to the Ukrainian mayoralty candidate in the municipal election of 1963 varied directly with the degree of concentration of Ukrainians in various parts of the city; the higher the concentration of Ukrainians, the greater the support given to the Ukrainian candidate.¹ It is possible that ethnic origin is a stronger factor in voting at the local level, where political parties are less involved, than at the provincial or federal levels.² Further research is needed to investigate these possibilities.

Municipal
politics

2. Opinion polls

171. One recent phenomenon in the political process in Canada is the development of public opinion polls. The best known polls, taken by the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, do not categorize respondents by their ethnic origin or cultural group but only by their mother tongue. They thus can only give a slight indication of the political attitudes of some of those of ethnic origin other than British or French, chiefly those who are first- or second-generation immigrants.

172. These polls have discovered that those whose mother tongue was other than English or French tended to favour the Liberal over the Progressive Conservative party in federal politics.³ There was also a significantly higher percentage of those with neither English nor French as their mother tongue who stated before the federal elections of 1962 and 1963 that they intended to vote for the NDP or the Social Credit party. According to analyses of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion's statistics, those of mother tongues other than English or French expressed a relatively high interest in Canadian politics, but a lower awareness of its substance and nuances than those whose mother tongue was English or French.⁴ This apparent lower awareness reflects either short acquaintance with the Canadian scene and linguistic barriers to understanding it, or inability or reluctance to express political views.

Poll analyses

173. Another analysis of the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion's data from May 1962 until January 1965 provides additional information. The attitudes of respondents of French, English, and what are called "other" mother tongues towards Canada as a political and social

¹ Baird, "The Slavic Vote," 163-4.
² See L. J. Kamin, "Ethnic and Party Affiliations of Candidates as Determinants of Voting," *Canadian Journal of Psychology*, XII, No. 4 (December, 1958), 210.
³ It should be kept in mind that the population with mother tongues other than English and French is only half as large as the population of the other ethnic origin categories, and that new immigrants predominate among those of other mother tongues; see chap. V below.
⁴ Peter Regenstreif, *The Diefenbaker Interlude: Parties and Voting in Canada, an Interpretation* (Toronto, 1965), 36-7, 90.

entity, governmental policies, international relations, and "French-English" relations were examined. The patterns of attitudes of those in the "others" category differed from those of the Francophone and Anglophone respondents in all four categories.¹

174. The single most impressive factor in the responses was that those with mother tongues other than French or English had a much larger percentage of "don't knows" or "no opinions" than those with either French or English as their mother tongue in questions which related specifically to Canada, but in questions about more general social questions their response rate was high. Their reticence on political questions thus does not seem to result from a general aversion to expressing an opinion on social issues.

Attitudes towards
the future

175. In the questions related to attitudes towards the future as a whole, those in the "others" category showed neither as much optimism as the Anglophones nor as much pessimism as the Francophones, but they did have discernible opinions. However, in questions related to Canada's future, they showed a less clear-cut pattern of response. This may reflect an unawareness of the climate of debate which provoked the questions about Canada's future or a lack of knowledge of specifically Canadian conditions.

176. Concerning their own future within Canada, more of those in the "others" category were uncertain about the long-run conditions facing them and their families than were either the Anglophones or the Francophones. On the other hand, fewer of the "others" than of the Francophones were uncertain or pessimistic about their personal fate in the immediate future. In questions concerning general social problems, those in the "others" category emphasized problems common to all modern industrialized societies rather than those peculiar to Canada. For example, they named social security as the primary problem in Canada.

Attitudes towards
government policy

177. In their attitudes towards governmental policies, those in the "others" category generally exhibited a lower political awareness than the two major linguistic groups, although there were a number of policy questions on which they expressed relatively strong opinions. A higher proportion than that of the Anglophones or Francophones would like to see Canada with a much larger population, and fewer declined to answer the question. A high proportion also supported abolition of capital punishment, and here again they had the lowest proportion of "no opinions." Those in the "others" category also seemed to differ from both Anglophones and Francophones in their attitudes towards government intervention. They were, for example, much more willing

¹ Saul Frankel, "Political Orientation and Ethnicity in a Bicultural Society," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

to accept a wage and price freeze than were either the Anglophones or the Francophones. More of the "others" and the Francophones than of the Anglophones thought that income taxes were too high.

178. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion has occasionally asked questions about what it has called "French-English" relations. The attitudes of those in the "others" category on these questions resembled those of Anglophones more than those of Francophones, although there was considerable regional variation. In April 1963, just before the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established, the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion asked, "Do you think today feelings between English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians are better or worse than, say, five years ago?" Like the Anglophones, but unlike the Francophones, a high proportion of those in the "others" category thought feelings were worse. There was a much higher proportion of the "others" undecided or unable to answer than in either of the two major linguistic groups.

179. After the Commission was established attitudes towards "French-English" relations crystallized. However, those in the "others" category did not appear to be affected by the establishment of the Commission as much as the Anglophones and the Francophones. When asked in November 1963, if they had heard or read about the Commission, over one half of those in the "others" category replied that they had not. Only 29 per cent of the Francophone respondents and 31 per cent of the Anglophone respondents had not heard of the Commission by that time. One year later 16 per cent of those in the "others" category said that they did not know whether the Province of Quebec would be likely ever to leave Confederation, and 13 per cent had no opinion about the seriousness of such an eventuality for the rest of Canada. A large number also expressed no opinion on the issues of a new national flag and a national anthem for Canada.

Attitude towards
Anglophone-
Francophone
relations

3. *The ethnic press*

180. Ethnic newspapers fill a dual function by both expressing and influencing the political opinions of the members of different cultural groups.¹ The Ukrainian and Polish cultural groups seem to have the most politically vocal presses. They have many publications, representing different factions or approaches to politics in Canada and in the homeland. They all articulate the demands of nationally self-conscious and politically assertive ethnic communities. The Dutch and Scan-

¹ See chap. VII below for a description of the ethnic press. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State maintains an ethnic press file and carries on a programme of analyzing ethnic newspapers. We are grateful for permission to make use of the file.

dinavian ethnic presses are much less political and thus provide a striking contrast. The German, Italian, and Jewish presses lie in between in the intensity of their interest and the aggressiveness with which they put forward their demands. For example, the Italian press has recently begun to express considerable interest in having Italian candidates nominated for political office.

Political
effectiveness

181. It would require very careful research to discover how effective ethnic presses are politically. Those of Ukranian, German, Jewish, and to a lesser extent, Polish ethnic origin are generally well represented in our political institutions. There appears to be some relationship, direct or indirect, between the political articulateness of a group's press and the extent of their representation in political institutions.

4. Interest groups

182. Lobbying is a vital part of the political process, and is carried on by all types of organizations. A recent classification of Canadian interest groups lists economic groups (including agricultural, labour, and business organizations), professional associations, public service groups, associations in the communications field, associations in the field of education, organized veterans' groups, ethnic interest groups, religious interest groups, women's groups, and social action and ideological groups. The only examples of ethnic interest groups given which represent a cultural group other than the British or French are "Ukrainian Canadian Organizations." Other examples given are the Empire Club, the English-speaking Union, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Loyal Orange Association, the Native Sons, and the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste; the Canadian Jewish Congress is listed as a religious interest group.¹ However, other ethnic associations and the coordinating bodies of virtually all groups frequently attempt to exert influence on the various sectors of government.

Examples of
ethnic interest
groups

183. At times cultural groups whose members were disfranchised have pressed the government to adopt policies favourable to their interests. For example, the Chinese worked diligently to secure modification of immigration policies that inflicted hardship upon the Chinese through such spokesmen as the leaders of the Chinese Benevolent Association.

184. Those of Jewish origin have enjoyed full political rights since 1832, when legislation was passed providing that Jews in Lower Canada were to have the same rights and privileges as were enjoyed by other citizens, including the right to hold any public office. Jewish organizations have waged vigorous campaigns against restrictive immigration

¹ F. C. Engelmann and M. A. Schwartz, *Political Parties and the Canadian Social Structure* (Scarborough, Ontario, 1967), 94-6.

policies, such as requirements of landing money and passport restrictions which have presented difficulties to Jewish immigrants, particularly refugees.¹ They have also been actively opposed for 70 years to the teaching of religion in the schools, and have played an outstanding part in defending civil liberties and securing human rights legislation. Other political issues of continuing concern to the Jewish community have been the suppression of "hate literature" in Canada, the treatment of Jews in countries hostile to their faith, and support for the establishment and maintenance of the state of Israel. The Canadian Jewish Congress has coordinated these efforts since its foundation.

185. Since World War II, there have been a number of attempts by members of cultural groups of non-British, non-French ethnic origin to organize these groups into a "third force" capable of concerted political action. These attempts have not succeeded for several reasons, including the inability to define the membership of the "third force" with any precision, the geographic dispersal of potential supporters, and the diversity of interests and circumstances among various groups and individuals.

A "third force"

186. Supporters of the "third force" concept invariably consider as potential constituents all those who by the census count are of ethnic origin other than British or French. As we have already pointed out, many whose ethnic origin is not British or French are by now thoroughly identified with one or the other of the two societies. Alternatively some whose ethnic origin is British or French according to the census are identified with another cultural group, but the number in this category is much smaller.

5. Political parties

187. All Canadian political parties have concerned themselves with what is called "the ethnic vote," especially at times and in places where people of other origins are numerous and ethnic associations are prominent. For example, in Saskatchewan the Ukrainian vote warranted close attention:

Party tactics

Liberals in Saskatchewan were not surprised some weeks before the election to learn there was some talk going around among Ukrainian voters that, though they had always voted Liberal, they had not received due recognition. They did not have a candidate of their own in the campaign. As there are between 40,000 and 50,000 Ukrainian voters in Saskatchewan, this report created a problem requiring the closest attention of the inner circle of the party. . . . The Ukrainians got one of their own prairie-born sons,

¹ See Simon Belkin, *Through Narrow Gates: A Review of Jewish Immigration, Colonization and Immigrant Aid Work in Canada (1840-1940)* (Montreal, 1966) and Joseph Kage, *With Faith and Thanksgiving: The Story of Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration and Immigrant Aid Effort in Canada (1760-1960)* (Montreal, 1962).

a Saskatoon doctor, as a candidate in one of the north-eastern constituencies.... A Ukrainian candidate in one constituency would keep the Ukrainian vote in eight or ten other constituencies in line. It did not matter whether or not he was elected. Came the election. The Ukrainian-Canadian candidate not only won the seat, but he piled up a majority of about 2,000 out of only some 6,000 votes in the riding.¹

188. Since 1957, members of cultural groups, and particularly those who are regarded as their leaders, have been assiduously courted. For example, in the Toronto area, during the 1962 campaign:

While the parties varied in their efforts to contact members of ethnic groups at higher levels of the organizational hierarchy, there were greater similarities at the riding level, at least for those ridings we examined. At nomination meetings, spokesmen for different ethnic groups participated in the ceremonies, adding a short speech supporting the candidate nominated, while pretty girls dressed in national dress were part of the decor. Campaign literature translated into languages other than English was generally available for distribution. Voters' lists were examined and voters separated by supposed origin. Canvassers of the same background were then assigned to contact them.²

189. Nominating a member of a cultural group as a candidate is one means of bidding for the support of members of that group, and of groups allied to it. It is impossible to distinguish those who consider themselves representatives of other cultural groups from those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin who regard themselves as full-fledged members of the Anglophone and Francophone societies, but it is worth looking at what is known about the candidates selected.

Federal
candidates

190. There were estimated to be 148 candidates of ethnic origin other than British or French in the Canadian general election 1965. They constituted about 15 per cent of the total number of 1,011 candidates, probably the highest proportion in Canadian political history. The increase in the proportion of candidates of origin other than British or French in federal elections has been slow but steady since World War II: there were 50 such candidates in 1949, 88 in 1953, 93 in 1957, 113 in 1958, 121 in 1962, 137 in 1963, and 148 in 1965.³ All the parties seem to have contributed about equally to this increase, with the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives increasing their proportions most significantly since 1957. The major ethnic origin categories from which candidates were chosen in 1963 and 1965 were German, Ukrainian, and Scandinavian.

¹ Escott M. Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine before 1929," in *Politics in Saskatchewan*, 104 n.

² Mildred A. Schwartz, "Political Behaviour and Ethnic Origin," in *Papers on the 1962 Election*, 268.

³ R. R. March, "Political Mobility of Slavs in the Federal and Provincial Legislatures in Canada", in *Slavs in Canada*, II, Proceedings of the Second National Conference of Canadian Slavs (Ottawa, 1967), 11-19.

Provincial
candidates

191. During the 1930's a number of important political changes occurred on the prairies and studies of these changes have yielded some information. The CCF arose in Saskatchewan and the Social Credit party suddenly came to power in Alberta. The Depression also resulted in the development of various new parties in Manitoba which led to coalition government. Since 1930, the proportion of candidates of ethnic origin other than British or French in provincial elections has increased rapidly: in Alberta, from 13 per cent in 1930 to 30 per cent in 1959, in Saskatchewan from 20 per cent in 1934 to 41 per cent in 1960, and in Manitoba from 15 per cent in 1936 to 34 per cent in 1959.¹ There was no great difference in the proportion of candidates of non-British, non-French ethnic origin nominated by the different parties during the period examined, although the CCF and Social Credit parties had slightly higher proportions than did the Liberals and Progressive Conservatives.

B. Governmental Institutions

192. Most government institutions are designed to fulfill functions unrelated to specifically ethnic concerns. The explicit criteria for selection or election to most governmental bodies relates to the individual as a citizen rather than as a member of a particular group and the tasks performed by government personnel normally affect a cross-section of the entire society.

193. Nonetheless, the presence in Canada of two societies has led to recognition and acceptance of the principle of representation of the British and French cultural groups in most federal political institutions and in some provincial and municipal institutions in regions where this seems appropriate. Although the result had never been equitable representation, this recognition constitutes a precedent that may be invoked by those who feel they have special interests as members of other cultural groups although they are also part of one of the dominant societies.

1. Federal institutions

194. Only quite recently have significant numbers of those of ethnic origin other than British or French been found in federal government institutions. Many lacked the language and educational skills required for effective participation in government at any level on their arrival. By the 1960's members of various cultural groups had become mem-

¹ Stein and March, "Ethnicity, Regionalism and Federal Leadership."

Parliamentary
representation

bers of the House of Commons, the Senate, the federal Cabinet, senior public servants, judges, military officers, and heads of Crown corporations. Their number, while not large, now seems to be increasing at many levels of authority and in many government institutions.

195. Since 1867 about one hundred persons of ethnic origin other than British or French have been elected to the House of Commons.¹ More than one-third have come from Ontario and another third from the three Prairie Provinces. Between November 1965 and June 1968 there were at least 24 members in the House with ethnic origins other than British or French, including some of the country's most noted politicians. This is considerably more than in previous Canadian parliaments.² The proportions in the Liberal and Conservative parties have been about the same; the New Democratic party and Social Credit party have each had a somewhat larger proportion of MPs of other than British or French ethnic origin.

196. The ethnic origin categories which have been most heavily represented in the House are German, Ukrainian, Jewish, and Scandinavian. Since 1945 there have been at least seven members of Parliament of German origin, five of Scandinavian origin, nine of Ukrainian origin, and four of Jewish origin. On the whole, the German and Scandinavian members have not been regarded as representatives of their cultural groups, unlike the Ukrainian and Jewish members.

197. Members of Parliament of other than British or French ethnic origin are often selected, or volunteer, to represent their political parties on matters of special interest to the different cultural groups. Thus a recent parliamentary delegation to Poland included members of Polish ethnic origin from the three largest parties. Members of ethnic origin other than British or French have also been assigned to parliamentary committees or special commissions dealing with matters such as immigration and minority rights. Some have regularly intervened on behalf of members of their groups on such questions as deportation cases, the appointment of senators, the awarding of honours, and support of the claims of refugees now living in Canada against their former homelands.

198. There have been about a dozen senators of non-British, non-French origin since Confederation, appointed by both the major parties. Three senators of Ukrainian origin have been appointed since 1945, and one of Jewish and one of Icelandic origin.⁴

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-28.

² R. Van Loon, "The Structure and Membership of the Canadian Cabinet," a study prepared for the R.C.B. & B.

³ See Appendix II, Table A-28.

⁴ These are, respectively, senators William Wall, John Hnatyshyn, Paul Yuzyk, David Croll, and Gunnar Thorvaldson.

199. Members of cultural groups sometimes regard Senate appointments as being awarded not to the individual but to the particular group which he is assumed to represent. Thus they sometimes expect an "ethnic" Senator to promote their interests in federal matters; but the Senator usually regards his mandate as much broader.¹

200. In making appointments to the federal Cabinet the Prime Minister is now expected to take ethnic origin into account. Both the Liberal and Progressive Conservative governments in recent years, have included ministers of ethnic origin other than British or French. However, since Confederation, there have only been five such Cabinet ministers.²

201. Since 1943, parliamentary assistants to ministers and parliamentary secretaries have been appointed according to principles similar to those governing the appointment of ministers. There have been parliamentary secretaries of Scandinavian, Italian, and Polish origin.³

202. In 1961, the federal Public Service⁴ included almost 39,000 members of neither British nor French ethnic origin (out of almost 224,000).⁵ All provinces were represented in this figure. The average income of those of non-British, non-French origin was slightly below that of those of French origin and both were significantly lower than those of British origin. Public servants of ethnic origin other than British or French constituted 13 per cent of the managerial class, 23 per cent of the professional engineers, and 25 per cent of the physical and biological scientists. Nearly 20 per cent of the civil servants of non-British, non-French ethnic origin were foreign-born. Thus in the Public Service (as in the labour force generally) immigrants appear to be supplying knowledge and skills that are in short supply in Canada.

203. However, there are more British-born immigrants than non-British in the Public Service. This may be due both to language difficulties and to unfamiliarity with institutions largely British in character, but discrimination in favour of British subjects has undoubtedly also played a part. Such discrimination no longer exists, except to the degree that recruiting outside Canada for Public Service posts is still more intensive in the United Kingdom than elsewhere.

Representation in
the Public Service

Predominance
of British
immigrants

¹ F. A. Kunz, *The Modern Senate of Canada, 1925-1963: A Re-appraisal* (Toronto, 1965), 51-3.

² Van Loon, "The Structure and Membership of the Canadian Cabinet."

³ Denis Staris, "Parliamentary Secretaries—Onward to the Cabinet," in Paul Fox, ed., *Politics: Canada* (Toronto, 1966), 217.

⁴ Defined so as to exclude certain major Crown corporations. See W. Klein and D. Ledoux, "Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B; see also W. Klein, "Representativeness of the Federal Civil Service," a working paper prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

⁵ See Appendix II, Tables A-29—A-32.

Judicial and
Crown corporation
appointments

204. Several judges of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have recently been appointed to the benches of the Appeal and Superior courts in different provinces, and in one case to the presidency of a High Court. The federal government makes all judicial appointments including those to county and district courts. The heads of some Crown corporations are also of origin other than British or French. In most cases, as in judicial appointments, there is no connection between the appointee's ethnic origin and his official duties.

The armed forces

205. The armed services have sometimes been believed to be a preserve of those of British ethnic origin. However, a survey done for the Commission indicates that 16 per cent of those in the armed services are of origin other than British or French; they are distributed through all levels, including high-ranking officers.¹

2. Provincial and municipal institutions

206. Since those of ethnic origin other than British or French have, like those of British or French origin, generally entered politics first at the municipal or provincial level, their number in various provincial and local government institutions is higher than in federal institutions, but the same trend towards increased representation and participation, especially since the Depression, can be seen.

Legislative
representation

207. The number of MLAs of non-British, non-French ethnic origin has increased dramatically in the provincial legislatures in recent years, particularly in the three Prairie Provinces, and some of these have become provincial Cabinet ministers. In Manitoba, it has been estimated that at least 46 members, or 8 per cent of those elected to the provincial Legislature since 1870, have been of ethnic origin other than British or French, but the actual figure is probably considerably higher, since there have been 26 Ukrainian and 19 Icelandic members.² A high proportion of them have been elected since World War II. In Saskatchewan at least 14 per cent of the members elected since 1905 have been of non-British, non-French ethnic origin; the majority of them have also been elected since 1945. In Alberta, at least 48, or 12 per cent of the members elected since 1905, have been of ethnic origin other than British or French. In all three Prairie Provinces those of Scandinavian, Ukrainian, and German ethnic origin are most heavily represented. In the Ontario legislature, at least 52, or 6 per cent of the 450 MLAs elected since 1914, have been of non-British, non-French ethnic origin. This is an increase over earlier periods, although not as substantial an increase as in the Prairie Provinces. The German

¹ Pierre Coulombe, with the collaboration of Lise Courcelles, "Carrière militaire et dynamique culturelle," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. See also Appendix II, Tables A-33—A-35.

² Citizenship Branch, Department of the Secretary of State, *The Canadian Family Tree* (Ottawa, 1967), 163, 327.

and Dutch ethnic origin categories have contributed the most representatives. In British Columbia, at least 19, or 5 per cent of the 421 MLAs elected since 1871, have been of neither British nor French ethnic origin, but this figure is probably too low since there are 88 British Columbia MLAs whose ethnic origin is unknown. Most of the 19 are of German or Scandinavian ethnic origin and again most have been elected since World War II. In the other provinces the representation of non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories among MLAs does not exceed 1 per cent. A number of the MLAs of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have been appointed to provincial Cabinets, most of them within the last few years.

208. In the provincial civil services those of non-British and non-French ethnic origin are again most highly represented in the Prairie Provinces. In 1961, 39 per cent of the members of the civil service in Alberta were of other than British or French ethnic origin; the figure for Saskatchewan was 40 per cent. In Manitoba the proportion of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in the civil service was 32 per cent and in both Ontario and British Columbia 20 per cent. In Quebec less than 2 per cent of the civil service was neither French nor British in ethnic origin in 1961.¹ Figures were not obtained for each of the Atlantic Provinces but they are probably lower, because of the small number of residents of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in these provinces.

Provincial
civil services

209. Figures compiled for the Commission on the municipal civic services of Winnipeg, Ottawa, Hull, Montreal, and Toronto offer some insights into ethnic representation at this level.² In the Winnipeg metropolitan civil service, a total of 480 employees (27 per cent) were of ethnic origin other than British or French. A high proportion of these, 72 per cent, had served for less than ten years. Most of them were of Ukrainian origin, although there were also substantial numbers of German, Polish, and Icelandic origin.³ In Ottawa, 314 employees (12 per cent) were of other than British or French ethnic origin, most of them of German or Italian origin; a mere handful of the employees in the Hull service were of non-British, non-French ethnic origin. In Montreal, 947 employees (7 per cent) of the metropolitan civil administration were of ethnic origin other than British or French, over half of them of Italian origin. In the Toronto civic administration, 1,927 (27 per cent) were of neither British nor French ethnic origin and again those of Italian origin made up the largest single group.

Municipal
representation

210. It is important to consider not only the extent of participation of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in government but

¹ See Appendix II, Tables A-36 and A-37.

² *Ibid.*, Tables A-38 and A-39.

³ Donnelly, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government."

also the type of position held. In Winnipeg, a Commission study found that those of British ethnic origin are found in the higher positions rather than those of French, Ukrainian, or German origin. Among those 39 years of age and under, the percentage of those of British origin is lower than among those 40 and over. The study concluded that the influence of ethnic origin on the level of participation in the civic administration is changing.¹

211. No figures were available on the ethnic composition of municipal executives and councils. However, the ethnic presses have noted that mayors of non-British, non-French ethnic origin have been elected in recent years in several municipalities, including Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton, Winnipeg, Saskatoon, Windsor, Fort William, Waterloo, and Côte Saint-Luc in Montreal.

C. Political Sub-cultures

212. The diversity of political sub-cultures is one of the most important factors affecting political representation and participation among different groups. A political sub-culture means here the set of political orientations and attitudes held in common by the members of a subgroup in a society. It consists of attitudes concerning the society's political system and the role which that particular group plays within this system. These attitudes are acquired over a long period of time and are transmitted from one generation to the next.²

213. It is extremely difficult to isolate such political sub-cultures and to measure their impact. In Canada there is no survey in which precise data is provided for each of the non-British, non-French cultural groups. In the absence of such data, one has to rely on secondary accounts of a group's political attitudes and there is even a dearth of reliable material of this sort. However, it is interesting to compare what is known about the political sub-culture of the German and Ukrainian cultural groups which are associated with two of the largest ethnic origin categories in the Canadian population.

1. Canadians of German origin

214. The German ethnic origin category is larger than any except the British and French, and has been represented in the population for more than a century and a half. There were people of German origin in the House of Commons and in the Cabinet before 1900. The German

¹ *Ibid.*

² Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds., *Political Culture and Political Development* (Princeton, N.J., 1965), 7-10, 19-21.

ethnic origin category is at present well represented in government structures. However, Germans have not been active in political life as a cultural group. At least three factors have contributed to this.

215. The first is the lack of ethnic self-consciousness among many residents of German origin. Germans were among the earliest settlers in many parts of Canada. The fluid social organization of frontier communities and the similarities between the German and British cultures led to a rapid loss of German ethnic identity, except where groups were geographically isolated. Many people of German ethnic origin have participated and are now participating in Canadian political life with no feeling that they are representing a particular cultural group.

Lack of political activity

216. A second factor is the presence among the German group of religious sectarians who formed, and in some instances still form, strongly isolationist communities. Many of them have been opposed to any participation in provincial or federal politics; some have even forbidden their members to vote.¹ There are, of course, exceptions. For example, a Mennonite was elected to the legislature in Manitoba in 1932, and a Mennonite represented a British Columbia riding in the House of Commons from 1953 to 1962.

Influence of sectarian groups

217. Third, the two world wars have greatly affected the outlook of Canadian residents of German ethnic origin, making them averse to political activity as an organized and visible group. During both wars they have been the object of suspicion and hostility. They have sometimes responded by denying their ethnic origin. In other cases they have tried to avoid criticism by discarding cultural traits and social practices such as use of the German language, membership in exclusive ethnic associations, and group pressure in politics.

Influence of world wars

218. Since the Trans-Canada Alliance was founded in 1951, some German associations and spokesmen have become less reluctant to express their views or to try to influence the course of politics. The political achievements of prominent Canadian residents of German ethnic origin are described with pride, and concern is expressed about such issues as citizenship, immigration, and the preservation of the German language. Government assistance in maintaining the German language and culture in Canada is also demanded.

New demands

2. *Canadians of Ukrainian origin*

219. Many Ukrainians who came to Canada about the end of the 19th century were illiterate peasant farmers on the poorest land in their homeland. They hoped to enjoy a greater measure of freedom to

¹ Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 189-90, 215.

pursue their group activities in Canada.¹ At first they were permitted to do so. They were given free homesteads in Manitoba and in what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta, and after a few years they could become British subjects. The immediate incentive was the need for naturalization papers to obtain ownership patents for their homesteads.² Politicians often helped the new immigrants to obtain these papers in return for their votes at election time. Corruption and vote-buying were rife among Ukrainian immigrants in the first two decades after their arrival in Canada.

Early political
practices

220. In the beginning the Ukrainians voted in blocks for English-speaking Liberal and Conservative candidates, but their leaders soon began to advocate more active participation in politics. They began to try to nominate Ukrainian candidates as early as 1910. At first they met stout resistance on the part of both parties, but gradually their persistence won out. The first Ukrainian was elected to the Alberta legislature in 1913,³ to the Manitoba legislature in 1915, and to the House of Commons in Ottawa in 1926.⁴

Discrimination

221. The suspension of the right to naturalization of all aliens including the Ukrainians in 1914, and the extension of this suspension to aliens of former enemy countries in 1919, greatly disturbed the Ukrainians.⁵ They were not only denied access to citizenship but also the right to vote, and their newspapers were suppressed. They considered that they had been harshly and unfairly treated, especially since some Canadian residents of Ukrainian ethnic origin were in the armed services and one, Philip Konowal of the 77th Battalion, won the Victoria Cross.

222. Another incident that contributed to the shaping of Ukrainian political attitudes was the abolition by the Manitoba government in 1916 of the language privileges that cultural groups had enjoyed within the public school system. Many considered this to be a severe blow to the maintenance of the Ukrainian language.⁶

Nationalist
influences

223. Ukrainian nationalism in Canada was intensified by the dissolution of the short-lived republic of the Ukraine after World War I. This political upheaval brought to Canada many Ukrainian political refugees of the middle class and intelligentsia and they reinforced the political self-consciousness of the first-generation immigrants of peasant background. Many of them drew parallels between the withdrawal by

¹ Kaye, *Early Ukrainian Settlements in Canada*, 3-4.

² Paul Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba: A Social History* (Toronto, 1953), 177.

³ The 1913 election was annulled, but the same candidate was re-elected in 1915, 1917, and 1921; the last election was also annulled.

⁴ Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 110-11; see also Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 257-258.

⁵ V. J. Kaye, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, XXVII, No. 4 (October-December, 1957), 467.

⁶ Young, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 243-5.

provincial authorities of the right to educate their children in Ukrainian and the anti-Ukrainian policies of the Polish and Tsarist Russian regimes.

224. During the inter-war years the political nationalism of those of Ukrainian ethnic origin was fanned by discrimination and prejudice. The Ukrainians were not popular among immigrant groups on the prairies and antagonism towards them was expressed in such epithets as "bohunk," "hunkie," and "white nigger." They were also excluded from participation in community social events and were occasionally attacked in the press and on the political hustings.

225. When drought and the Depression hit the prairies at the same time, many Ukrainians turned to radical protest both on the right (Social Credit) and on the left (CCF). A prominent minority even joined the Communist party. This led to the adoption of a revolutionary line by the Ukrainian labour temples, which were closed by the Canadian government in 1940.¹

Political activity

226. The Ukrainian political refugees who came to Canada after World War II added a strong core of anti-Communist feeling to the Ukrainian political sub-culture. Recently post-war immigrants, along with certain second- and third-generation Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin, have emerged as the dominant voice of opposition to certain changes planned or being studied by the federal government in the field of bilingualism and biculturalism.²

227. Spokesmen for this cultural group press various governments for recognition as a group and for assistance in the maintenance of their culture and language more than the members of any other sizable cultural group. They boast of the number of Canadians of Ukrainian origin who have held political office at the federal, provincial, and municipal levels, counting each to be a representative of their group and expecting each to work for policies favourable to the group's interests. They take a lead in efforts to organize a "third force."

228. However, it should not be assumed that the political culture of the Ukrainian cultural group is monolithic; those of Ukrainian origin are divided on both religious and ideological lines. There are, among other factions, a rightist wing opposed to all forms of socialism and strongly anti-Communist, a leftist wing inclined to favour socialism and to support a pro-Soviet foreign policy, and a centre wing favouring more moderate nationalism and greater integration into Canadian society. Those of Ukrainian origin who have been elected to the House of Commons have represented all four of the federal political parties.

Internal divisions

¹ Yuzyk, *The Ukrainians in Manitoba*, 96.

² E. Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force,'" in Peter Russell, ed., *Nationalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1966), 72-91.

Analysis of the group's voting patterns indicates that at least the native born are like other Canadians in voting according to individual party preference rather than ethnic affiliation.¹ All are united in being conscious of their ethnic identity and proud of their contribution as a cultural group to Canadian political and social life.

D. Conclusion

229. Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French have steadily increased their degree of participation and representation in Canadian politics, particularly since World War II. Those of some cultural groups have done so to a much greater extent than others in proportion to the size of their group. This can be attributed to a number of factors including time of arrival, level of education, and the relative concentration or dispersal of the group's population. Also important are such cultural factors as ethnic self-consciousness, the degree of intensity of group nationalism, and the desire for group self-assertion. Certain cultural groups have shown determination and persistence in their search for political participation and recognition; others have not.

230. The more vocal groups tend to demand proportional representation in various government institutions. For example, their spokesmen have asked that they be given a proportion of the appointments to the Senate, the Cabinet, or the Supreme Court equal to their proportion in the population. We do not favour such representation and, even if we did favour it in principle, we should still be faced with the fact that there is no effective way of determining either the size and strength of a cultural constituency or the qualifications of a particular individual to represent it.

231. This is as true if the other cultural groups are taken together as it is if the groups are considered separately. The non-British, non-French cultural groups are too diverse in background and characteristics to constitute an effective "third force." We urge that the members of all groups be welcomed into the Anglophone and Francophone communities, and that they participate fully in the political sphere from within one of these communities.

232. We insist that ethnic origin or cultural distinctions should be ignored wherever specific group interests are not involved. Merit and competence should be the only bases for appointment to government

¹ Kaye, "Political Integration of Ethnic Groups: The Ukrainians," 469-70; compare Kamin, "Ethnic and Party Affiliations of Candidates as Determinants of Voting."

posts, within the context of the two official languages as we have recommended in previous books of our *Report*.¹

Recommendation 2

233. In the Canadian political sphere there is one area where these principles still do not apply at the time of writing. Immigrants who are British subjects receive the right to vote after only one year in Canada, whereas other immigrants do not receive it until they have gained Canadian citizenship and they may not apply for citizenship until they have resided in Canada for five years. It is also slightly easier for a British subject to file an application for citizenship than for an immigrant from a country outside the Commonwealth. British subjects may file an application directly with the Registrar of Canadian Citizenship, whereas anyone else must file an application through his local court or a Citizenship Court, unless he lives more than 50 miles from a court. In the past the familiarity of British subjects with the English language and with political institutions similar to Canada's was at least a partial justification for this distinction. Now, the educational level of many non-British immigrants renders the distinction between British subjects and other immigrants anachronistic. Therefore, **we recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin.**

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, §§ 15-20 and especially III, chaps. X and XI.

234. Immigrants are under immediate and direct pressure to adjust to the economic, political, and legal structures of the country to which they immigrate but there are some areas, such as family life, religious belief and practice, and social and cultural associations, where society exerts less pressure and permits a wider variety of behaviour. As a result, immigrants may continue to follow traditional patterns in these areas. Society at large has tended to accept and even encourage this retention, but even so life in Canada has inevitably brought changes in the social patterns of all cultural groups, even the most isolated and self-sufficient.

A. The Family

1. Kinship

235. Many of Canada's immigrants came from societies in which kinship ties were very important, and where families were often linked into networks which would assist the young men of the families to emigrate. Once established in the new land they were in turn expected to help their kinsmen to follow them.

236. The role of kinship among immigrant Hungarian peasants provides an illustration.¹ Their basic kinship institution, called the sib, included a wide circle of relatives (aunts, uncles, cousins, sometimes of a very remote degree, in-laws and their families, and godparents and their families). Membership in the sib was not governed solely by blood relationship for some distant relatives might be strongly attached

The Hungarian
sib

¹ Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 13-16. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

while nearer ones were excluded. Within the sib the separate families maintained independent households which were often scattered over neighbouring villages or, in the case of middle-class sibs, over the whole country. Marriage between members of the sib was common and often encouraged in order to keep the families' resources within the sib. The sib involved many unwritten customs and obligations of which the most binding was to help other members in every way—through assisting with labour, money, or moral support. "The lore of the sib system, its etiquette, customs and genealogy made up a conspicuous part of the education every child received from his family. Such an education, together with certain familistic sanctions, were effective enough to keep up the system for many centuries." The sib played a crucial part in migration for members of the poor classes could never have financed the cost of emigration without the help of their relatives. "Sometimes five to ten families contributed to 'send out' one person to America." In return, the immigrant recognized his obligation to return the aid he had received. As soon as he found a steady job, he would start to send back money to help his relatives and in time to assist them to emigrate. Generally only one son from each family would emigrate, thus the original immigrant would normally not be joined by a brother but by a son of another sib family. This process was continued by each newcomer in turn. "It was a strict obligation upon sib members to guard the newcomer, to teach him Canadian ways and to provide him with quarters and a job."

Kinship among
other
Europeans

237. The extended family seems to have played a role similar to that of the Hungarian sib for other ethnic groups from Europe. Many immigrants attempted to establish the kinship systems that had been important parts of their lives before migration, but these systems can exist only in a special set of circumstances. Among Polish peasants "the traditional form . . . can evidently subsist only in an agricultural community, settled at least for four or five generations in the same locality and admitting no important changes of class, religion, nationality, or profession."¹

Asian
practices

238. Kinship was also important among Asian immigrants. For example, Japanese families in the late 19th century were not limited to a single household but included the largest possible kin group as part of the family. Thus the Japanese concept of family "takes in the nation, for from a historical point of view the people consider themselves all of one blood."² The obligation of "mutual helpfulness" applied to all kin. The family was highly patriarchal and based on the theory of male super-

¹ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1958), I, 87, 98.

² S. F. Miyamoto, "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle," *University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences*, II, No. 2 (December, 1939), 60.

iority. Doctrines of filial piety, seniority, masculine superiority, and ancestor worship conditioned the roles of all members. "Marriage was contracted by family action for purposes of family continuity."¹ The family was also important for the Chinese. If a family had no sons to perform the filial duties towards the father, then it was considered necessary to adopt sons.

239. Since the 1920's, and especially since 1945, the role of the larger kinship network, as against the conjugal family, has been diminishing in Canadian society and it will probably continue to do so. This change is due to industrialization, urbanization, and increased mobility. These factors are reinforced by the increased proportion of urban, middle-class immigrants and a government policy of selecting immigrants on the basis of skills, education, and training.

Diminishing
ties

240. There are a few exceptions to this trend, the most notable being among Italians.² Although the central institution of Italian society is the "nuclear family," the larger kinship group is still extremely important in present day Italy, particularly southern Italy, and many Italian immigrants continue to maintain their kinship ties in Canada:

Italian
kinship

each person stands at the centre of a vast network of individuals to whom he is related through both mother and father, and through marriage. . . .

Thus the southern Italian divides the world around him into kin and non-kin. The former are allies with whom he shares reciprocal rights and obligations of mutual assistance and protection. The latter are either enemies or potential enemies, for each seeks to protect and improve the position of his own family, if need be at the expense of others.

Most Italians in Montreal have immigrated with the help of their kinsmen, and on their arrival they tend to settle near their kin. Many share their houses with close relatives. The ties of kinship are very strong among those of Italian origin born in Canada as well as among new immigrants. In the group studied in Montreal "a full two-thirds had close relatives living within five minutes, including over one-half who had relatives living in the same building, though not necessarily in the same dwelling area. . . ." Italians in other urban centres show similar residence patterns.

2. Marriage

241. Some immigrants married before coming to Canada, and either brought their wives and children with them or sent for them within a few years. Others left *fiancées* behind and later sent for them. Still others settled near members of their own cultural groups, and so tended

¹ Leonard Bloom, "Familial Problems and the Japanese Removal," *Research Studies* (State College of Washington), XI, No. 1 (1943), 21.
² Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 9-11. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

Ethnic
endogamy

to meet and marry members of their own cultural group in Canada. Ethnic endogamy, marriage within the cultural group, was highest among the immigrants whose lives and migration were inextricably linked with kinship.

242. Endogamy was particularly common among the sectarian groups with strong isolationist tendencies, such as the Mennonites in Manitoba.¹ As late as 1947, and in spite of many changes in their economic and community life, their education, and even their religious convictions, "the family remained the foundation and nucleus of the Mennonite group," playing the same role in the social structure as it had in 1877 when they arrived in Canada. The group was bound together by "countless blood ties and intermarriages. . . . The discussion of family trees was still one of the favorite pastimes at social gatherings. . . . A man without an identifiable genealogy was barely considered a true Mennonite."

243. Hungarian immigrants faced considerable difficulty in contracting marriages.² Most were not married when they arrived in Canada; some were engaged and when they had saved sufficient money would send for their *fiancées*, but this presented a considerable financial problem for many. "The great depression wrecked many marriage plans and when the economic situation improved, war stopped immigration from Hungary." In one group as many as 40 per cent were estimated to have failed "to establish a normal family life within a reasonable time after immigration because special difficulties faced immigrants in contracting marriages." One solution, marriage outside the cultural group, was hindered by the language barrier and other national peculiarities. As late as 1931, nine out of ten marriages of those of Hungarian origin were within the cultural group, and the percentage was even higher for immigrants.

244. The problem of establishing families was especially acute for the Chinese. Between 1923 and 1947 they were not permitted to bring their wives or unmarried children under 18 years of age into Canada, unless they had obtained citizenship by a very difficult procedure.³ Some illegal entry occurred, but the Chinese remained a largely male population. In 1931 there were 46,500 Chinese men and only 3,600 Chinese women in Canada. The Japanese were in a different situation. From 1885 to 1910, nearly ten times as many men as women had entered Canada but after 1910 the percentage of female immigrants was high. By 1921 there were 10,500 males and 5,300 females and, by 1931, 13,000 males and 9,200 females.

¹ Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 271. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

² Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 44-7. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

³ This involved obtaining the consent of the Minister of the Interior of China and advertising in two local Chinese papers that one was renouncing one's Chinese citizenship.

245. In many ethnic origin categories a substantial number of men did not marry. Some of these regarded their migration as temporary, and when they stayed in Canada permanently were unable to bring their prospective wives here because of immigration regulations or financial circumstances. In the Canadian population as a whole, the number of males per 100 females was 105 in 1901, rose after a decade of heavy immigration to 113 in 1911, was 106 in 1921, and 105 in 1941. Among the foreign born the number of males per 100 females was much higher than among the native born. It was 158 for the foreign born in 1911 and for certain groups it was particularly high.

Sex distribution

246. Since World War II, the huge male surpluses of earlier years have disappeared. Male immigrants have more often been accompanied by their wives and children, or soon reunited with them. In fact, since 1931, Canada has admitted more women than men. Although in recent years more women than men have emigrated to the United States, the sex ratio in most groups has still tended towards a balance.

247. The degree to which the different origin groups are still endogamous indicates the extent to which they are still bound by their cultural heritages and social networks. In 1961, for eight European ethnic origin categories, the other European categories taken together, and the Asian categories, the proportion of endogamy was under 50 per cent only for Scandinavians, Russians, and Poles. For the Germans and Dutch the proportion was between 50 and 60 per cent; for the other Europeans and Ukrainians it was between 60 and 65 per cent; for Italians, Asians, and Jews it was over 75 per cent.¹ In making comparisons with 1951, no figures are available for the Italians and Russians. But of the other categories, the percentages for the Dutch and Ukrainians were the only ones showing noticeably different proportions of endogamy. The Dutch had less than 45 per cent endogamy in 1951, the Ukrainians over 70 per cent.¹

Levels of endogamy

248. Comparable figures are not available for earlier years but, in 1941, 29 "racial" origin groups were ranked according to an index of intermarriage and this ranking is strikingly similar to that noted above. The index was based on the percentage of fathers of legitimate children born in the given year married to mothers of the same "racial" origin.² The Scandinavian groups had some of the lowest indices of endogamy; the Polish, Dutch, Italians, Russians, and Germans had indices between 51 and 58; and the Chinese, Ukrainians, Jews, and Japanese had indices ranging from 75 to 99.

¹ See Appendix II, Tables A-40—A-74.

² Enid Charles, *The Changing Size of the Family in Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Eighth Census of Canada, 1941, Census Monograph No. 1 (Ottawa, 1948). See Appendix II, Table A-75.

249. The British and French groups appear to act as magnetic poles in the Canadian social structure. These groups are themselves highly endogamous, but they are large enough to account for much of the exogamy among the other origin groups.¹ The British origin category makes up 44 per cent of the population and has great economic power and strong cultural influence. It therefore exerts the strongest attraction for outmarrying members of other ethnic origins. The only exception to this rule is in Quebec, where the French exert a greater attraction for some groups. However, the proportion of immigrants who settle in Quebec is relatively small.

250. The massive post-war immigration to Canada did not result in significant changes in the exogamy/endogamy ratio between 1951 and 1961. The overall proportion of endogamous marriages was almost stable between the two censuses. Two factors have combined to produce this near stability: an increase in second- and third-generation exogamous marriages, and a large number of endogamous marriages involving post-war immigrants. But it appears there is also an increasing tendency for recent immigrants to marry outside their cultural groups. Reasons for this include their education and their dispersion residentially and occupationally, and more cosmopolitan attitudes both among immigrants and among middle- and upper-class Canadians. For example, the Hungarian immigrants who came to Toronto after 1945 showed a tendency to marry those of British origin.² In 1962 about 9 per cent of the Italian immigrants marrying in Montreal married those of French origin and the rate was higher among Canadian-born Italians.³

251. Marriages outside their cultural group have been increasing even among the groups most strongly endogamous in earlier days, such as the Japanese. "Many Nisei⁴ and Sansei favour this trend in principle on the grounds that complete assimilation is impossible without intermarriage. There are some (mostly Kika), however, who join many Issei in deploring the trend because 'it will spoil the purity of the Japanese blood.'"⁵ Another argument is the difficulty which may face the offspring of such a marriage. Some Issei parents also fear that a Hakujin son- or daughter-in-law might not assume the traditional obligation of supporting his or her spouse's parents.

¹ *Ibid.*, Tables A-73 and A-74.

² Kosa, *Land of Choice*, 47.

³ Boissevain, *The Italians of Montreal*, 42.

⁴ Nisei are the generation born in Canada of immigrant parents; Sansei are the next generation born in Canada; Kika are the first generation born in Canada who were sent back to Japan for their schooling; Issei are first-generation immigrants, born in Japan; Hakujin are non-Japanese.

⁵ Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 32.

3. *Generational changes*

252. The conditions required for perpetuating the old kinship systems did not exist in Canada, and the rise of a new generation often brought drastic changes. In any differentiated society there are differences and conflicts between generations; in an immigrant group, these tend to be increased. The transmission of a way of life depends upon acceptance of a total system of institutions and such a system can only rarely be transmitted intact to a new land. This transfer is most complete for such sects as the Mennonites and Hutterites, and the generational conflicts are therefore least severe within these groups.¹

253. To the degree that the transfer of the traditional system is incomplete, the etiquette or ritual that governs relations between generations in the family and the community breaks down. The young may still be taught approved forms of behaviour by their parents, relatives, and other members of their cultural group; but their neighbourhood, school, and church may not reinforce this teaching.

254. The experience of the Japanese cultural group illustrates the effects of generational differences.² Whereas in Japan the schools reinforced the training given at home, helping the children "to chart their course properly through the rigid ceremony of every day behaviour," Canadian public schools did not fulfill this function. In fact they did just the reverse by stressing the values of democratic individualism, "which ill accorded with the authoritarian collectivism of the community." Thus the Nisei did not fit easily into the Japanese community. The discriminatory attitude of society as a whole, which failed to recognize "the Canadian orientation of the majority of the Nisei and directed its hostility at all Japanese, irrespective of place of birth," added to the problem. "Unable to prove they were 'good Canadians,' the Nisei were forced back into dependence upon the ethnic community and this made the cultural conflict more obvious."

255. The second generation of those of Ukrainian origin offer an example of generational changes in which a particular immigrant occupation played a part.³ Young girls would often go into domestic service in the cities and thus come into contact "with new ways of living, new social relationships, a new language—in short, a new world." Some of the girls would marry within the families for whom they worked, and were quickly almost completely assimilated. Many of them returning to visit their families, would find their parent's modes

¹ Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 272 and Wilms, "The Brethren Known as Hutterians," 394-405.

² Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 36-8. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

³ Vera Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto, 1947), 238-9. Quotations in this paragraph are drawn from this work.

of dress, language, food, and general way of life "uncouth and even 'foreign.'" The parents would then reproach their children for having "foresaken the old ways."

B. Religion

256. The relationships between religion and ethnic identity and religion and ethnic origin are complicated.¹ Some religions, for example Judaism, are explicitly ethnic. Christianity is not, although some Christian denominations are. Some cultural groups are almost entirely of one religious affiliation, others are spread among many different faiths. Within every cultural group there are people who practise no religion, although they may profess one to a census-taker, but who adhere to the ethic of the religion they inherited but have abandoned.

257. Many cultural groups shared a single religious affiliation when they first came to Canada. The Italians were almost all Roman Catholics; the Scandinavians Lutherans; the Japanese Buddhists; the Ukrainians either Greek Orthodox or Greek Catholic. The Jewish group in Canada was less divided than in the United States; few Sephardim or liberal German Jews came to Canada. For the Germans and Dutch, who were of many different religious affiliations, religion was not an important part of their ethnic identity.

Lack of clergy

258. Many problems confronted immigrants in setting up their religious organizations. Some religions are much less portable than others. The Doukhobors, Mennonites, and Hutterites had little difficulty maintaining their forms of worship on the Canadian prairies, and Jews could secure their religious accoutrements, at least in the cities. Those of other faiths were often less fortunate, particularly if they were dependent upon a highly trained priesthood. Often they did not bring priests with them to Canada and had little money to pay priests for their services here. For example, the Japanese Buddhist Church was not prepared to send priests to provide for the religious needs of immigrants.² Early Ukrainian settlers had great difficulty in transferring their religion to Canada because their attempts to interest priests in emigration failed. Josef Oleskow, who encouraged many early Ukrainian settlers to come to Canada, suggested one novel solution, but with no success:

Oleskow wrote to the Minister of the Interior, H. J. MacDonald on May 16, 1896, urging that priests of the same faith and nationality as the settlers should be encouraged to emigrate, through provision of a nominal salary

¹ See Appendix II, Tables A-76—A-135.

² Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 65.

for them, until such time as the settlers were in a position to assume the financial responsibility. This was an unprecedented request, the Canadian government was not prepared to cope with it. . . .¹

As a result the settlers were left very much alone, except for a few visits by guest priests (for example, N. Dmytriw and D. Polyvka), from the United States. This situation left many new immigrants susceptible to the missionary efforts of the more established denominations. The introduction of rival faiths in turn bred quarrels and divisions within the community.

259. Sometimes when clergy did emigrate, for example, Bishop Seraphim who came to Winnipeg to serve the Greek Catholic Ukrainians, they were unable to adjust to the new environment.² In other cases where religious leaders did adapt to Canadian conditions, they encountered resistance from more conservative church members or from church functionaries further from the scene. This resistance sometimes provoked one group to split off from the central church organization. Such a secession occurred among the Greek members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Toronto in the 1960's.

260. In cases where a suitable priest was secured, he frequently found that his position was undermined by several factors. The experiences of the laity in setting up a congregation and in seeking out a priest frequently made them more independent than they had been at home and less willing to accept the priest's authority. The necessity of constant fund raising also detracted from the priest's sacerdotal role.

261. The burden of setting up a religious organization and financing religious services, buildings for worship, and religious objects often presented further difficulties. In the homeland, the financial burden of upkeep was widely shared, especially in the established churches. Immigrants, already under financial stress, found the financial demands of their religion onerous, especially when they compared them to the costs of religions that rejected conventional church architecture and appointments.

Further
difficulties

262. Many new arrivals also found that earlier immigrants of different ethnic origins had already established churches of their particular religious denomination. In some cases, the new immigrants simply joined the existing parishes; the Dutch Catholics are one example. However, many others were disturbed by differences in belief, ritual, and language. Italian Roman Catholics in Edmonton, for example, had been accustomed to the cult of the Virgin Mary and lost some of their zeal when they encountered Canadian churches which instead

¹ Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, 76-7.

² Lysenko, *Men in Sheepskin Coats*, 74-8.

The Jewish
experience

stressed the Trinity and Christ in their services.¹ Where the church was hierarchical in structure, some found the problem compounded by the fact that the higher clergy were of a different background and often unsympathetic to their wants. For example, on occasion Irish bishops assigned Irish priests to Polish congregations, and bitter struggles ensued until Polish priests were provided.

263. Sometimes later waves of immigration brought groups who shared the ethnic origin of earlier arrivals but differed markedly from them in their religious beliefs and rituals.² The Jews who emigrated at the beginning of the 20th century were more aware of their ethnic, rather than their religious identity. But since World War II the Jewish cultural group has been augmented by small numbers of highly orthodox and Hassidic Jews who have influenced the rest of the Jewish cultural group. These later arrivals have attempted to transfer their traditional way of life, including their mode of dress, to their new home. They pose a threat to some members of the Jewish cultural group for they hinder the process of integration into Canadian society. At the same time other Jews, who have themselves given in to the forces of assimilation, welcome the orthodox arrivals because they seem to guarantee the survival of traditional Jewry in Canada, without demanding any sacrifices on the part of those with less strict devotion to the traditions of their religion.

264. The orthodox and Hassidic Jews make up a small percentage of the total Jewish community in Canada and have little connection with other Jewish groups. Even so, their presence has tended to reverse the normal pattern of integration:

Canadian Jews were most highly acculturated in the very earliest period of settlement; between 1840 and about 1940 they were differentiated by ethnic characteristics . . . from the surrounding population, but there was much interaction between Jews and non-Jews, and a willingness to assimilate values of the new culture. Only now, in the latest phase of Jewish life in Canada do we have what usually comes at the beginning—enclavic groups, intent upon maintaining in unadulterated form their traditional mode of living.³

North African Jews from French and Spanish Morocco, who came to Montreal and Toronto in the late 1950's and early 1960's, also added variety to the Jewish religious community. Their Sephardic form of Judaism set them apart in ritual and custom from most of their co-religionists in Canada. They quickly began to hold services according to the Sephardic rite, and sought aid from the Jewish community in setting up their own synagogues.

¹ Hobart, "Italian Immigrants in Edmonton."

² R. R. Wisse, "Jewish Participation in Canadian Culture," an essay prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

³ *Ibid.*

Missionary
activity

265. The problem of strenuous missionary activity on the part of denominations already entrenched in the community has further confused new immigrants anxious to establish their traditional forms of worship. In downtown Toronto, in the years before World War I, the Methodists campaigned actively to convert Italian Roman Catholics through night schools, nurseries, and Italian-speaking ministers.¹ At the same time the Presbyterians devoted much attention to converting Jews in Toronto. These efforts were centred in the area known as "the Ward," the district bounded by University Avenue, Queen, Dundas, and Yonge streets. Marked by overcrowding, poverty, poor housing, and disease, the area quickly developed the characteristics of a slum and by 1910 was considered a major social problem by the city. It was here that the evangelical sects and established denominations set up their churches and mission houses:

Through the provision of various social services, some financial assistance, and mid-wifery all neatly packaged with the Gospel, a number of conversions of Jews did occur. By 1911, the members of Holy Blossom Congregation were seriously concerned. . . .²

266. While neither the Italian Roman Catholics nor the Jews proved to be ready converts, certain others, for example the Japanese, have joined the Protestant denominations in large numbers.

During and after the evacuation crisis, missionaries and church groups in both Eastern and Western Canada worked extremely hard to ameliorate the severity of conditions in the camps and to give aid in the resettlement process. Many people, Issei in particular, became Christians quite frankly to express their gratitude for this help. The Buddhist efforts to help in this crisis were hampered by the Government's action in suspending the activities of all priests except the one Canadian. The latter worked very hard, cooperated with community organizations but of necessity his achievements seemed small when contrasted with the efforts of the organized Christian groups.³

The Roman Catholic, Anglican, and United churches made strong inroads and conversions have continued since the war.

267. Even without proselytizing campaigns, members of a particular religious or cultural group not numerous or wealthy enough to establish their own neighbourhood church have sometimes begun attending the existing church most congenial to them. Greek Catholic Ukrainians have attended Roman Catholic churches, Greek Orthodox Ukrainians, Anglican churches. In some cases it has later been possible for them to return to an ethnic church; in others, the transfer has become permanent.

¹ Sidlofsky, "Post-War Immigrants in the Changing Metropolis," 36.

² A. Rose, "The Price of Freedom," in *A People and Its Faith*, 73-6.

³ Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 70.

Influence of
language

268. A desire to preserve their faith has frequently strengthened the determination of members of a cultural group to maintain their language, for people are more ready to use an alien tongue for business or political activity than for worship or confession. Churches have tried to profit from this feeling and hold their flocks by offering language classes for children. In spite of these efforts transfers to Anglophone congregations tend to increase in the second and third generations.

Appeal of
evangelical
sects

269. The Protestant evangelical sects have attracted immigrants as well as the major established denominations. The rapid growth of such groups as the Pentecostals, Christian Missionary Alliance, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Seventh-Day Adventists has been in good part a result of their appeal to immigrants whose own religious faith and religious organizations seemed to fail them in their new land. In Alberta in the 1930's and 1940's such sects surpassed the major denominations in serving immigrants.

For instance, the German Baptists, the Evangelical United Brethren, the Swedish Mission Covenant, and the World Alliance of Missionary and Evangelical Churches, by integrating numbers of German and Scandinavian immigrants into a religio-social community which preserved their old language and many of their old traditions and customs, served to protect these ethnic groups from social disintegration and to cushion the shock of their adjustments to a new culture. On the other hand, sects like the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, the Alliance, and the Prophetic Baptists aided greatly in the ultimate assimilation of people of European background by accepting them on equal terms with Anglo-Saxons.¹

Religious exogamy

270. A study of inter-faith marriages found that there was a general trend towards increasing religious exogamy between 1922 and 1957 extending in varying degrees to all provinces and to all three of the major religious groups, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish.² The continuation of this trend after 1945 gives further evidence of the fact that many post-war immigrants have been more cosmopolitan and hence less exclusive than earlier immigrants.

C. Education

271. The relationship between religion and education is close. In Canada the school one attends, the quality of instruction, the choice of programmes and subjects, and the availability of higher education are all related to the major religious division between Catholics and non-Catholics, as well as the main language division between Anglo-

¹ W. E. Mann, *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* (Toronto, 1955), 154.

² David M. Heer, "The Trend of Interfaith Marriages in Canada: 1922-1957," *American Sociological Review*, XXVII, No. 2 (April, 1962), 245-6.

phones and Francophones. Ethnic background is also an important factor.

1. *Levels of education*

272. The average level of education attained by the population has been rising over the last 80 years, both in Canada and abroad. In addition, Canadian immigration policy, which before World War II tended to give preference to agricultural immigrants and those willing to enter domestic service, has now been altered to give preference to those with education and training. The level of education among immigrants has therefore tended to be high since 1945, except among immigrants who are sponsored and need not meet these requirements.

273. The immigrant population taken as a whole has a lower educational level than the Canadian-born population, but it also has more members with university training. When the immigrant population is classified according to the time of arrival, those who came before 1931 predominate among those with little education; those who came after 1945 include a high proportion with university-training.¹ Some of these immigrants have obtained or completed their education in Canada. The high proportion of recent immigrants who have settled in urban areas is also related to the high proportion with university training.

274. The total immigrant population includes a substantial proportion of British origin, and it is probable that many of them are highly educated. A study of Ontario students showed that more parents of Anglophone students have university training than those of students from homes where the language spoken was neither English nor French.² However, students from the "other" language category, taken together, showed the highest yearly retention rate³ and this could only be partially explained by such factors as the father's occupation, the size of the community, parental education, the geographical location of the school, or the size of the families studied. The future educational plans of the students and their attitude towards attending university seemed to be associated with their retention rate. This "other" language category presumably contained mainly immigrants and children of immigrants.

275. Immigrants from different countries are by no means equal in the area of education. Education levels have not risen at the same rate in all countries, and immigrants from different countries often come from very different strata within their homelands. When these variations are taken along with variations in the socio-economic posi-

Differences in retention rates

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-136.
² A. J. C. King and C. Angi, "Language and Secondary School Success," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. by arrangement with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
³ The proportion of those starting their school year together in a given year who survive at each succeeding grade.

tions of the ethnic origin categories in Canada, the result is a wide variation in the educational levels of members of the different ethnic origin categories.

276. Table 8 compares the educational levels of the members of six specific ethnic origin categories in the Canadian labour force and all others taken together. Jews have the highest average level of education, followed by the British, Germans, "others," Ukrainians, French, and Italians. The average level of schooling for Jews is 10.1 years, for Italians 6.2. The rank order of the groups varies somewhat for the four provinces of New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia, and for the three metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa, but the Jewish, British, and German groups were consistently high, the Ukrainian, French, and Italian consistently low.¹

2. Public schools

277. Private schools are expensive, and for financial reasons many immigrants therefore send their children to the public or separate school systems. In addition, education is a means of upward social and economic mobility, and many immigrants feel that the public schools prepare their children for mobility in the community better than private ones. Those of Japanese origin, Jews, and most Protestant cultural groups have sent their children to Protestant schools in Quebec or to public schools in other provinces. Some Catholics of German, Ukrainian, Scandinavian, Italian, and other ethnic origins have done likewise. The rest have entered Roman Catholic or separate schools, both French and English.

Language of instruction

278. In the early years, when settlement was chiefly rural and mobility limited, a public school might in fact be an ethnic school if it was located in a community where the population shared one particular cultural background. In several provinces many schools used languages other than English or French as the language of instruction at certain times.² In Nova Scotia the School Act of 1840 authorized the payment of public grants to local schools using German or Scottish Gaelic as the language of instruction. In Ontario many schools used German in the early days of the public school system, but because the population was predominantly Anglophone this gradually declined. By 1889, it was reported that German was only used "to give explanations to those pupils who on coming to school know but little English."³

Manitoba experience

279. During the last years of the 19th century significant numbers of immigrants settled on the prairies, including many Ukrainians,

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, III, Table 7.

² See *ibid.*, II, chaps. II and III, for more information on the history of education in Canada.

³ C. B. Sissons, *Bi-lingual Schools in Canada* (Toronto, 1917), 33.

Table 8. Levels of Education in the Labour Force

Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the labour force, by ethnic origin, sex, and education level—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Sex	No schooling		Elementary school		High school 1-2 years		High school 3-5 years		University training		Total	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
British	Male	5,100	.3	535,500	30.6	442,400	25.2	550,300	31.4	219,000	12.5	1,752,300	100
	Female	600	.1	134,700	18.5	190,300	26.1	337,500	46.3	65,400	9.0	728,500	100
	Total	5,700	.2	670,200	27.0	632,700	25.5	887,800	35.8	284,400	11.5	2,480,800	100
French	Male	7,600	.7	584,300	53.5	233,400	21.4	197,900	18.1	68,900	6.3	1,092,100	100
	Female	900	.2	152,700	39.4	99,900	25.8	116,300	30.0	17,600	4.5	387,400	100
	Total	8,500	.6	737,000	49.8	333,300	22.5	314,200	21.2	86,500	5.8	1,479,500	100
German	Male	800	.4	88,400	40.0	48,100	21.8	62,900	28.5	20,300	9.2	220,500	100
	Female	100	.1	29,100	31.6	22,600	24.5	35,200	38.2	5,200	5.6	92,200	100
	Total	900	.3	117,500	37.6	70,700	22.6	98,100	31.4	25,500	8.2	312,700	100
Italian	Male	1,700	1.3	93,800	71.0	16,900	12.8	15,800	12.0	4,000	3.0	132,200	100
	Female	1,700	3.6	30,900	66.0	6,300	13.5	6,800	14.5	1,100	2.3	46,800	100
	Total	3,400	1.9	124,700	69.7	23,200	13.0	22,600	12.6	5,100	2.8	179,000	100
Jewish	Male	500	1.0	13,400	26.9	7,600	15.2	15,700	31.5	12,700	25.5	49,900	100
	Female	200	1.4	3,100	22.1	2,100	15.0	6,500	46.0	2,100	15.0	14,000	100
	Total	700	1.1	16,500	25.8	9,700	15.2	22,200	34.7	14,800	23.2	63,900	100
Ukrainian	Male	1,100	1.1	44,800	46.7	20,400	21.3	22,100	23.0	7,600	7.9	96,000	100
	Female	1,100	2.6	15,300	35.5	10,300	23.9	14,200	32.9	2,200	5.1	43,100	100
	Total	2,200	1.6	60,100	43.2	30,700	22.1	36,300	26.1	9,800	7.0	139,100	100
Others	Male	8,300	1.5	241,500	42.6	109,100	19.3	145,900	25.6	61,600	10.9	566,400	100
	Female	2,300	1.1	67,100	32.3	43,200	20.8	78,800	38.0	16,200	7.8	207,600	100
	Total	10,600	1.4	308,600	39.9	152,300	19.7	224,700	29.0	77,800	10.1	774,000	100
Total	Male	25,100	.6	1,601,700	41.0	877,900	22.5	1,010,600	25.9	394,100	10.1	3,909,400	100
	Female	6,900	.5	432,900	28.5	374,700	24.7	595,300	39.2	109,800	7.2	1,519,600	100
	Total	32,000	.6	2,034,600	37.5	1,252,600	23.1	1,605,900	29.6	503,900	9.3	5,429,000	100

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Bélard, "La répartition des revenus."

German Mennonites, and Poles. Some of these settlers were attached to their languages for religious reasons; others had strong social or cultural traditions and were determined to maintain them. Manitoba, the oldest of the Prairie Provinces, was the first to enact laws concerning public education and these early laws permitted teaching in languages other than English. German settlers, initially, and later other groups, were allowed to organize school districts in which instruction was given in their own language. By the Laurier-Greenway agreement of 1897, which temporarily settled a crisis over religious and linguistic education in Manitoba, the School Act was amended to state: "Where ten of the pupils speak . . . any language other than English as their native language, the teaching of such pupils shall be conducted in . . . such other language and English upon the bi-lingual system."¹ Thus the use of all the different languages of immigrants was officially sanctioned in the expanding school system. In 1916 Manitoba contained 61 school districts in which German was a language of instruction. These districts employed 73 teachers and had 2,800 registered pupils. Polish or Ukrainian was a language of instruction in 11 school districts with 114 teachers and 6,500 pupils. These schools, taken with those in which French was used, were together educating one-sixth of all Manitoba's pupils.

280. This system often failed to operate smoothly:

Serious conflicts arose in ethnically mixed school districts, particularly in view of the fact that their ethnic composition changed frequently. . . . It was, for instance, found that in five school districts separate minority schools could have been requested by no less than three different minority groups, had they chosen to do so. In 110 school districts, one or more local ethnic minorities had to send their children to schools which were taught in the language of another minority, for instance, Polish children were forced to attend Ruthenian schools, Finnish children Polish schools, and so on. In such districts the arrival or departure of a single family could alter the situation at any time and deprive the majority of its precarious privilege.²

281. In 1916 the Manitoba School Act was amended as a result of a special report on bilingual schools in Manitoba prepared by the Department of Education. School attendance was made compulsory from ages seven to 14; the provision for teaching in languages other than English was removed; and the standards for teacher training were made uniform for all candidates.

282. When Saskatchewan and Alberta became provinces in 1905, their educational authorities were able to use the experience of Manitoba as a guide. In Saskatchewan, local school boards in Ukrainian areas requested Ukrainian-speaking teachers, and the government responded

The other
western provinces

¹ S.M. 1897, 60 Vict., c.26.

² Francis, *In Search of Utopia*, 181-2.

by creating a Ukrainian teacher-training school at Regina. In those public school districts where the local board requested it, Ukrainian was taught during the last hour of each school day.

283. In Alberta, school districts were staffed almost without exception by teachers whose mother tongue was English. To aid immigrants desiring to teach, a special school was opened in 1912 at Vegreville to instruct older students with a limited command of English. The students transferred to regular schools when they were able to do so, and upon graduation they could undertake the standard normal school programme. In the Alberta scheme no languages other than English were taught in the public schools. British Columbia did not make any special arrangements for other-language instruction in its public schools.

284. These different solutions all evolved either before a centralized public school system was set up or during its formative period. The gradual creation and enforcement of common standards throughout each province, coupled with strong anti-German sentiment during World War I, discouraged teaching in languages other than English.

285. The withdrawal of the right to use a language other than English as a medium of instruction led to much bitterness. However, it should be noted that it coincided with the end of the era in which Canadian economic expansion was dominated by agriculture. After World War I increasing industrialization, urbanization, and population mobility made it more and more important for young people to acquire a thorough knowledge of English.

286. In the cities where many immigrants settled, there was for a long time little question of public schools being conducted in languages other than English or French. In Montreal, for example, the chief problem was the position of Jewish students in a school system divided between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant system. The solution was for Jewish children to be treated as Protestants for school purposes, at first by custom and after 1903 by law. They have constituted a substantial proportion of the total enrolment in the Protestant schools for many years. In the city of Montreal, they rose from 2 per cent in 1877 to 44 per cent in 1916, and then fell to 38 per cent in 1923. In Greater Montreal, they constituted 36 per cent in 1924 and 28 per cent in 1962, never having fallen in the intervening years below 24 per cent. Certain Protestant schools have had extremely high proportions of Jewish students. In Baron Byng High School in 1948 the proportion was 99 per cent. Members of the Jewish community pay their taxes to the Protestant School Board. In 1930 they were given the legal authority to establish their own school commission, but they preferred to continue the *modus vivendi* with the Protestant Board. In 1965 the charter of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal was

Jews in
Montreal

amended to permit five Jewish representatives to sit on the 25 member Board.

Quebec
situation

287. Nearly all Roman Catholic immigrants in Quebec have sent their children to English rather than French schools. In Montreal in 1962-63, for example, 92 per cent of those of Ukrainian origin who were in Catholic schools were in English rather than French schools. The figures for other cultural groups are almost as high: 88 per cent of Poles, 84 per cent of Portuguese, 83 per cent of Germans, 80 per cent of Hungarians, 77 per cent of Spanish, and 75 per cent of Italians.¹ From time to time attempts have been made to alter this situation. One such attempt, begun in 1961, involved using three languages of instruction, French, English and, in early grades, the mother tongues of the students. French was to be used for the humanities, English for mathematics and science, the mother tongue for "intimate" subjects, such as religion. The programme was never fully implemented but there are still four Catholic elementary schools using three languages, all four attached to Italian parishes. More recently, a few local Catholic school boards have limited their facilities for English-language instruction.²

Toronto
programmes

288. Children who entered school with little or no knowledge of English were not recognized as a problem in Toronto until after the war; recently they have become a major problem. A 1962 study showed that 15 per cent of the pupils under the jurisdiction of the public schools could be classified as non-English-speaking, with Italian, German, Ukrainian, Greek, and Polish being the most common first languages. To cope with the situation, the Toronto Board of Education has instituted a variety of programmes in the schools and has set up an experimental school entirely devoted to teaching the English language and Canadian culture to immigrant children. About \$300,000 is now spent on these programmes but early in 1966 the chairman of the Board of Education estimated that it would require \$2,500,000 a year to cope with the situation adequately.

3. *Ethnic schools*

289. Everett Hughes has said that most parents want to give their own children "the chance that everyone has, plus a little bit more."³ Parents of non-British, non-French origin have frequently wanted that little bit more to be a knowledge of the language, culture, and religion of their forefathers. In a few cases they have supported private all-day schools at which their children could receive all their

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Education in the Province of Quebec*, IV (Quebec, 1966), § 186, Table V.

² See below, § 773.

³ In *Students' Culture and Perspectives: Lectures on Medical and General Education* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1961), 54.

elementary or high school education. More often they have sent their children to part-time schools, meeting after school hours or on Saturday or Sunday. These schools are examined in more detail in chapter VI below.

290. The role of these ethnic schools in the lives of the groups that sponsor them, and in Canadian society as a whole, has been little studied. It is probable that they contribute to a feeling of cultural identity on the part of those who attend by teaching them the language and culture of their parents, as well as by setting them apart from other children. However, this may be resented and may lead some individuals to drift away from their cultural group later on. This was true, for example, of some Japanese in pre-war Vancouver where the part-time schools were often a source of tension between Issei and Nisei.¹

The latter resented being compelled to put in a further two hours daily after their regular day at public school. The majority of the teachers were poor ones (though there were a few notable exceptions). Their authoritarian teaching methods were not too successful. Very few of the Nisei had any positive interest in the subjects taught and, in direct consequence, learned and retained very little. Most of them achieved only the minimum of fluency in the language.²

As a result some of the students who were polite and industrious in the public schools, behaved poorly and did as little work as possible in the part-time schools.

D. Voluntary Associations

291. Many immigrants had little experience with voluntary associations when they arrived in Canada. The family, the kin group, and the church had provided their social structures in their homelands. Settlers in rural areas established few voluntary associations, but immigrants in towns or cities tended to organize associations, either to fill old wants or to meet new needs created by migration. Many of these voluntary associations were sponsored by the churches; some in turn became sponsors of part-time schools.

292. Ethnic associations are set up to meet those wants that people share with their ethnic fellows but not with the community at large. They are of many types: mutual aid or benefit associations designed to give assistance in crises such as unemployment, illness, accident, or death; philanthropic or social welfare associations through which the more successful and established members of the group may assist the less successful newcomers; associations with political aims, either in the homeland or in the new country; social and recreational associations;

¹ See above, § 251, n 3.

² Wangenheim, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto," 83-4.

Mutual benefit
associations

occupational and professional associations; research institutes and learned societies; women's groups; youth groups and coordinating bodies.¹

293. Different types of ethnic associations have usually been characteristic at different periods, because of the different types of immigrants who came in each period and the different state of development of the Canadian communities in which they settled. Mutual benefit associations emerged first. Faced with few resources in a frontier society, immigrants banded together to provide the kind of help that the family or kin group had provided in their homeland. Sometimes these mutual aid societies became the forerunners of flourishing businesses. Often they were short-lived, because their members prospered and had no further need of them, because those who were entrusted with the funds lacked experience, acumen, or honesty, or because economic depressions prevented members from paying their dues while at the same time multiplying the number of claimants for benefits. Those that endured were often responsible for social and ceremonial occasions as well as for material aid. In recent years there has been a decline in mutual benefit associations for at least three reasons: the greater sophistication of many immigrants, the increased economic opportunities in an expanding country, and the growth of public welfare measures. In addition, credit unions established by earlier arrivals have been of considerable financial assistance to newcomers, meeting some of the needs originally filled by mutual benefit associations.

Regional
associations

294. Among early immigrants, the sense of ethnic identity often did not extend beyond the kin group, or those from the same town, village, or region in the homeland. Therefore the associations that grew up tended to be small, and to unite only those from a particular region rather than all the members of a linguistic or cultural group. Among the Chinese cultural group, for example, clan and family associations and district associations were numerous. German, Italian, and Greek groups also had many regional associations. The list of *landsman-schaften*, associations of persons from the same place of origin, among the Polish Jews in Toronto was said to read like a gazetteer of the place names of central Poland.² Where religious affiliations were important, the associations were often confined to those who shared a faith as well as an ethnic identity; for example, many Ukrainian associations were sponsored by churches, and even nominally secular associations were composed of either Ukrainian Roman Catholics or members of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

¹ See John Gellner and John Smerek, *The Czechs and Slovaks in Canada* (Toronto, 1968), a recent study of cultural groups in Canada which pays particular attention to voluntary associations.

² Kayfetz, "The Jewish Community in Toronto," 23.

295. In the inter-war period, ethnic associations tended to reflect the political divisions of Europe, and often to be affiliated with organizations there. The emergence of the U.S.S.R. led to the formation of many associations in Canada among the central and eastern European peoples, some favourable to the Soviet regime and others opposed to it. The Ukrainians in particular were divided into various political camps by the arrival of immigrants who had participated in the struggle for Ukrainian independence and in the short-lived republic of the Ukraine. The upsurge of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany also influenced ethnic associations in Canada. Italian immigration was drastically curtailed, and through its consulates the Italian government began to play an active role in Italian ethnic communities, setting up a series of political associations that were the counterparts of those in Italy. Anti-Fascist organizations were then founded as a reaction to this activity. Within each ideological grouping consolidation took place, so that organizations tended to include all the members of a particular group who shared a political viewpoint, rather than simply those who came from a particular region.

Ideological influences

296. Nationalistic associations that limited their sphere of interest to events in the homeland had particular difficulties in recruiting members. Life in Canada dulled the sharp edge of concern for European or Asian issues. These associations often turned to youth, and devoted considerable attention to building associations for young people. Immediately after World War II, as political refugees joined the various cultural groups already in Canada, concern with political issues related to the homeland reached its peak.

297. In the 1950's and 1960's the increasing social, educational, and economic differentiation, both in Canadian society as a whole and among most cultural groups, led to associations based more on occupational and professional interests, social status, or cultural interests than in the past. The ethnic dimension of social stratification in Canadian society and the social stratification of particular cultural groups are important phenomena meriting extensive research, which we were unable to conduct.

Increasing differentiation

298. Cultural groups with elaborate networks of associations have established, or tried to establish, coordinating bodies for the city, province, or country. The initiative in the formation of these congresses or federations has not always come from within the group itself. For example, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee, although it had fore-runners, was set up in 1940 on the suggestion of the Canadian Department of National War Services. The Canadian Jewish Congress, the Canadian Polish Congress, the Trans-Canada Alliance of German Canadians, the Czechoslovak National Alliance, and the National Japa-

Coordinating associations

nese Canadian Citizens' Association are other examples of ethnic federations. Such federations may not enlist all the existing eligible organizations for a variety of reasons, including inability or unwillingness to pay the dues. Some of these federations exclude from membership those organizations that they consider to be left-wing or subversive.

Importance of
ethnic identity

299. Ethnic associations generally have not been long-lived, although coordinating associations may prove to be an exception to this generalization. Since virtually all of them were founded in 1940 or later, it is too early to know how durable they will be. The individual associations have been composed largely of immigrants, and have not usually been successful in enlisting either the native born or more recent immigrants as members. People who join ethnic associations indicate a sense of ethnic identity, and membership in such associations probably reinforces this sense of identity because participation in the association increases contact with other members of the same cultural group at the expense of contact with others. The fact that ethnic associations are composed mainly of immigrants, and that the ethnic associations with the largest proportion of native born are Ukrainian associations, confirms the important role of ethnic identity in voluntary associations. There are many other indications that those of Ukrainian origin in Canada have maintained a strong sense of ethnic identity.

Commission
research

300. In 1965, the Commission conducted a survey of the ethnic associations of the four cultural groups associated with some of the largest ethnic origin categories.¹ The study identified 105 German, 225 Ukrainian, 204 Italian, and 106 Dutch associations: 67 German, 225 Ukrainian, 129 Italian, and 66 Dutch associations finally reported either by mail or through field interviews. Interviews were held in metropolitan areas where there was a large number of associations. The small number of German and Dutch associations should be kept in mind where percentages are given.

301. The number of associations identified and reporting is itself an indication of the intensity of group consciousness among the different cultural groups. Although the Ukrainian ethnic origin category is less than half as large as the German, there were more than twice as many Ukrainian associations as German identified. Italians, too, seemed considerably more group-conscious than Germans. The Dutch associations, exhibited a pattern more like that of the German ones. Both the German and Dutch associations averaged more members who were more widely dispersed geographically than the Ukrainian and Italian associations. Nevertheless, the total membership of all these associations

¹ D. Sherwood and A. Wakefield, "Voluntary Associations among Other Ethnic Groups in Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

still reflected a preponderance of Ukrainians and Italians because of their larger number of associations.

302. In only 8 per cent of the Dutch associations were more than 30 per cent of the members Canadian-born, compared to 11 per cent of the German, and 23 per cent of the Italian associations. Even though post-war immigration of Ukrainians was small, only 41 per cent of the Ukrainian associations had more than 30 per cent of their members who were Canadian-born. The Dutch had the highest proportion (56 per cent) of associations with exclusively immigrant membership. Most of these appeared to be local church groups.

Proportions of
immigrant
members

303. Members of the executives of the associations frequently act as spokesmen not only for the associations but also for the cultural groups related to them. An even higher proportion of officers than of members were immigrants, particularly post-war immigrants. Eighty-nine per cent of the Dutch associations had no officers who were Canadian-born, and 82 per cent had no officers who had arrived in Canada before 1946. For the German associations the corresponding figures were 64 per cent and 39 per cent; for the Italian associations 39 per cent and 42 per cent; for the Ukrainian associations 36 per cent and 43 per cent.

304. The ethnic exclusiveness of the associations is as important an index of social integration as the proportion of immigrant members. The German associations were the only ones in which such exclusiveness was not predominant. Eighty-five per cent of the Dutch, 82 per cent of the Ukrainian, and 77 per cent of the Italian associations were ethnically exclusive, compared to only 40 per cent of the German associations.

Ethnic
exclusiveness

305. Generally, it appears that the more an ethnic group finds its origin a handicap, the more likely it is to form a strong structure of ethnic associations. Thus members of the German cultural group, with a long tradition in Canada and close cultural affinities with the British, do not have as many associations that are exclusively German as do other cultural groups. The Dutch, also well established and sharing a northern European culture with the British, have had difficulty in maintaining and developing an associational structure.

306. The fact that there were few exclusively German associations could well be related not only to the general lack of barriers between those of German and British ethnic origin, but also to hostility towards the German language and culture during and after the two world wars. This provided a strong reason for taking advantage of the ease with which people of German origin could disappear into the population at large. Faced with similar hostility, members of the Japanese community in Toronto after World War II were reluctant to build up an

Decline in
associations

ethnic association structure such as had existed in Vancouver in the 1930's, because of the resulting visibility of the Japanese cultural group.

307. A sense of ethnic identity and participation in ethnic associations are positively correlated in many instances. The correlation is not perfect, however, and this is of particular significance for recent immigrants. The tendency of immigrants to form colonies or ghettos has been diminishing as new immigrants have become less exclusive and more sophisticated. These same factors have probably decreased interest in ethnic associations. This may not necessarily indicate that new immigrants have become less eager to maintain their cultural heritage, but only that they wish to maintain it by other means. However, participation in ethnic associations is not purely segregating in its effects. Associations provide opportunities for their members to learn from one another the facts of Canadian life. This is of particular importance for immigrants whose communication with other Canadians is hampered by language and cultural barriers.

308. Part 2 of this Book has examined the participation of those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French in the economic, political, and social life of the country. In Part 3 we now look at those spheres of our society which affect the maintenance of their languages and cultures. In Chapter V we examine language transfer patterns, in an attempt to describe the position and potential of various languages in Canada and of the cultures that these languages transmit and express. In the following chapters we then discuss three major areas of linguistic and cultural interest: education, mass media, and arts and letters. In each area, we review the present situation and recommend appropriate measures.

309. These chapters illustrate the extraordinary diversity of Canada, a diversity which exists not only among the various cultural groups, but also within many of them. There are also generational, regional, and sectional differences in the degree to which various groups show interest in maintaining their linguistic and cultural traditions. We are aware that it is those who are the most interested in maintaining their language and culture who have been the most articulate and forceful in expressing their ideas to the Commission, and we have tried to take this into account in formulating our recommendations.

310. In Canada, the retention rate of ancestral languages varies substantially from one cultural group to another, from generation to generation, and from province to province. The vitality of non-official languages is determined by a host of influences and modified by factors peculiar to particular ethnic origin categories. Differences exist even within the same groups residing in different regions of the country. As a result linguistic integration is a complex process; there are no rules that can be applied to all languages or that explain all the reasons behind the maintenance of one's mother tongue. However, there are discernible factors that appear to influence the rate of linguistic and cultural assimilation. Three of the most important are the degree of cultural distinctiveness of a cultural group, percentages of foreign born and Canadian born, and rural-urban settlement patterns.

Factors influencing
assimilation

311. While other socio-economic factors may have an impact of their own, as a general rule, the greater the cultural difference between an immigrant group and its receiving society, the slower its rate of integration. This difference can be based on linguistic, religious, or social factors. For example, immigrants speaking a Germanic or Romance language find it easier to adopt English or French than those whose language has no cultural base in North America.¹ Often they also find a warmer welcome here than do those whose culture seems more alien to Canadian society. There are also some groups, such as the Jewish, whose culture is based on factors other than language. Even if the ancestral language continues to occupy an important position in the group's cultural activities, those who have abandoned the use of

¹ Compare the linguistic classifications summarized by Commissioner J. B. Rudnycky, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, 1, 156-7.

their mother tongue may not have abandoned their cultural identity and aspirations.¹ Customs and patterns of interaction may persist in a cultural group even when considerable linguistic assimilation has taken place.

312. It is apparent that the larger the percentage of foreign born in a cultural group, the more likely it is that the group will use its ancestral language and maintain its cultural identity. Canadian-born children and the grandchildren of immigrants are less likely to consider themselves members of a specific cultural group or to report its language as their mother tongue.

313. Rural isolation and traditionalism tend to perpetuate older ways of life much more effectively than do urban industrial societies. This same factor influences the level of retention of ancestral languages, which have always been more strongly entrenched in rural than in urban areas. Groups that are strongly urban are generally characterized by lessened support of their original languages.

314. This chapter is intended to outline the main trends in language transfer patterns in Canada during the past few decades among those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French, both immigrants and native born, living in various provinces, in both rural and urban areas. These various linguistic phenomena will then be studied for four of the larger ethnic origin categories: German, Ukrainian, Italian, and Dutch.

A. Language Transfer Patterns in Canada

315. Table 9 shows percentages of the Canadian population by ethnic origin and mother tongue as reported in the last four censuses. Between the years 1931 and 1961 the proportion of the population with English as their mother tongue increased by 1.5 percentage points, while the proportion of the population of British ethnic origin decreased by 8 percentage points. The opposite trend is observed among those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French. Their proportion of the total population increased by 5.9 percentage points but the percentage of those with mother tongues other than English or French decreased by 2.3 points.

Dominance of
English language

316. The predominant linguistic fact in Canada is the powerful attraction of the English language for people of other than British or French cultural backgrounds. This is not surprising in view of the

¹ See *ibid.*, §§ 51-2 of our Book on the official languages for a discussion of the use of the term "mother tongue" by the Commission.

position of the English language in North America. However, it should be kept in mind that English was the mother tongue of some immigrants of non-British, non-French origin prior to their arrival in Canada. For example, there are some immigrants from the United States whose ancestors originally came to North America from various continental European countries but whose families have long spoken English.

Table 9. Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue

Percentage distribution of the population by ethnic origin and mother tongue—Canada 1931–1961

	1931	1941	1951	1961
<i>Ethnic origin</i>				
British	51.9	49.7	47.9	43.8
French	28.2	30.3	30.8	30.4
Other	19.9	20.0	21.3	25.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Mother tongue</i>				
English	57.0	56.4	59.1	58.5
French	27.3	29.2	29.0	28.1
Other	15.7	14.4	11.9	13.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

317. Although Canada’s population includes people of many ethnic origins, in 1961 almost 92 per cent belonged to nine origin categories: British, French, German, Ukrainian, Dutch, Italian, Scandinavian, Polish, and Jewish. Although some 60 languages were reported as mother tongues for significant groups, about 95 per cent of the population reported the following six languages: English (59 per cent), French (28 per cent), German (3 per cent), Ukrainian (2 per cent), Italian (2 per cent), and Dutch (1 per cent).

318. The fate of a language depends on the persistence of its use by the native born. While immigrants provide immediate support to the language, it is the native born who determine its retention in the long run. This is why the present state and the future prospects of a particular language can be better assessed by analysing language transfer patterns within the native-born segment of the population than by examining overall figures, which include both native and foreign born.

Importance of
the native born

319. In Canada, a total of 4,700,000 residents were of non-British, non-French ethnic origin in 1961; 34 per cent of this total were immigrants and 66 per cent Canadian born. Fifty-one per cent reported a mother tongue other than English or French, but 42 per cent reported a mother tongue corresponding to their ethnic origin. Thirty-five per cent of those who in 1961 reported a language other than English or French as their mother tongue are most likely native born.¹ Thus, two out of three would have learned one of the two official languages as their mother tongue.

Influence of
immigration

320. The influence of immigration on language maintenance is not uniform for various ethnic categories. Table 10 shows the lack of direct correlation between the immigrant population and those reporting the corresponding mother tongue. The difference between the two, measured in relation to the total population in a particular ethnic origin category, gives a general indication of the extent to which the native born contribute to language maintenance. This occurs to the greatest extent among the Ukrainians and the least among the Dutch. In fact the preservation of the Dutch language appears to be dependent almost totally on immigration. Native-born members of ethnic origin categories with languages related to English (the Dutch and the German), show high rates of assimilation, but these groups have also had long histories in Canada.

Age pyramids

321. Age pyramids for various ethnic origin categories on which mother tongue pyramids are superimposed indicate some of the different patterns of language transfer (Figures 1-6). The Chinese pyramid is the most asymmetrical and unbalanced. This is chiefly due to immigration restrictions resulting in pronounced overrepresentations in the male population especially in the 25-29 and 65-79 age brackets. The other pyramids show more regular configurations although each has certain characteristics peculiar to the origin category. Each shows some protrusion at the middle age level, called "immigrant bulges," since immigration is most common in the 20-40 age brackets. The Italian pyramid shows the largest immigrant bulge while the slopes of the Scandinavian and German pyramids are very regular. Although all the

¹ Since the census data do not permit cross tabulations by ethnic origin and mother tongue for those born in Canada, it has been necessary to make the assumption that all immigrants of non-British, non-French ethnic origin report a language other than English or French as their mother tongue, thus making up 65 per cent of those so reporting, and leaving the balance, 35 per cent, as native born. This assumption is, of course, not absolutely accurate. Some immigrants of other than British ethnic origin, particularly those from the British Isles and the United States, speak English as their mother tongue. According to the 1961 census, 41 per cent of the immigrant population was of British ethnic origin and 46 per cent reported English as their mother tongue. There have also been small numbers of immigrants of Polish ethnic origin and Jews from North Africa whose mother tongue was French. However, in the total immigrant population only 3 per cent was of French origin and 3 per cent reported French as their mother tongue.

Table 10. Retention of Ancestral Language

Percentage of immigrants and of those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin, for four ethnic origin categories—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Number	Percentage of immigrants	Percentage of those whose mother tongue corresponds to their ethnic origin
Non-British and non-French	4,701,232	34.2	41.9
German	1,049,599	27.4	39.4
Ukrainian	473,377	23.3	64.4
Italian	450,351	58.9	73.6
Dutch	429,679	36.2	37.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

other categories have much more balanced sex distribution than the Chinese, the Italian pyramid has a substantial male surplus.

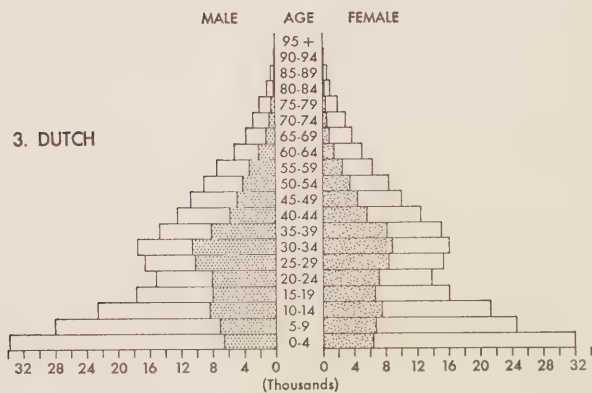
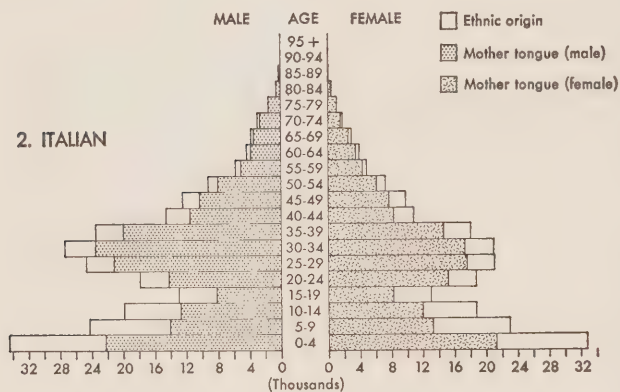
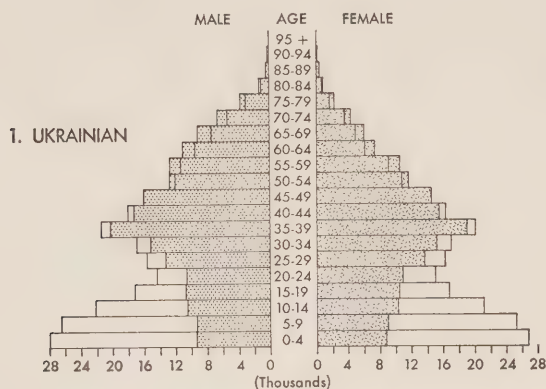
322. Of particular interest is the retention of the ancestral language by the upper age groups. The Ukrainian and Italian pyramids show a high rate of language retention here while language transfer among the Dutch is well advanced in this age bracket. The area between the language and ethnic age distribution outlines of the pyramids in the lower age brackets indicates the strength of mother tongue retention among the native born.

323. The survival of a language is greatly affected by the support it receives at the lower age levels, especially in the 0-14 age bracket. Table 11 gives data for six ethnic origin categories. All the categories included in the table have about equal proportions in the 0-14 age brackets, but the percentage of mother tongue retention varies from 67.6 to 6.5.

324. The strength of mother tongue retention in other age brackets varies widely in the different origin categories, reflecting the presence of the immigrant generation in the middle age brackets, their length of residence in Canada, and their linguistic aspirations. The pyramids show that the longer a group's history in Canada and the greater its interest in language retention, the more uniform is the distribution of the mother tongue among the various age levels. Among the higher age brackets in the German, Dutch, and Scandinavian ethnic origin categories more advanced losses are evident, while almost total retention is noted among those of Ukrainian, Italian, and Chinese origin.

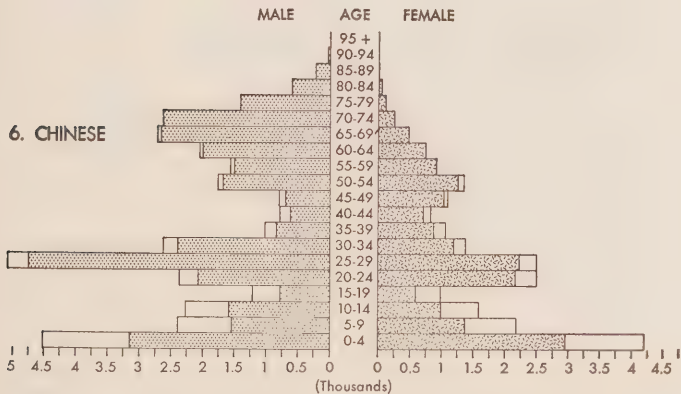
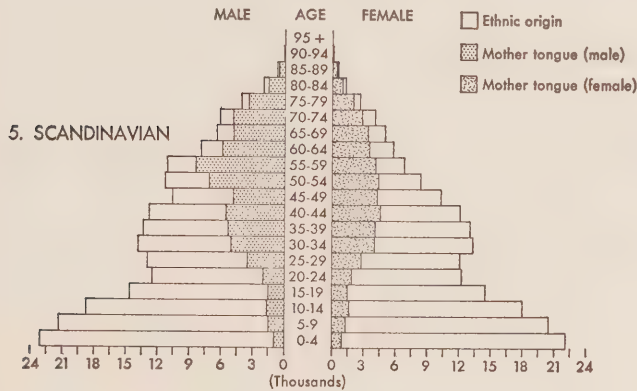
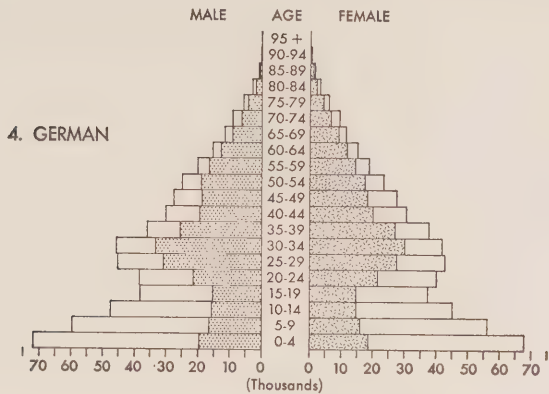
Importance of lower age brackets

Figures 1-3. Age Pyramids, by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue (Ukrainian, Italian, Dutch)—Canada, 1961



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

Figures 4-6. Age Pyramids, by Ethnic Origin and Mother Tongue (German, Scandinavian, Chinese)—Canada, 1961



Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-545 and 92-549.

Table 11. Retention of Ancestral Language by the Young

Number and percentage¹ of those 14 and under in six ethnic origin categories and for six mother tongues—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Non-British and non-French	German	Dutch	Italian	Ukrainian	Scandinavian	Chinese
Number	1,555,866	348,078	164,394	153,224	150,077	123,944	17,128
%	33.1	33.2	38.2	34.0	31.7	32.7	29.4
Mother tongue ²	Neither English nor French	German	Dutch	Italian	Ukrainian	Scandinavian	Chinese
Number	487,847	101,364	43,075	95,807	57,697	8,053	11,573
%	19.9	18.0	25.3	28.2	16.0	6.9	26.6
Mother tongue retention rate ³	31.4	29.1	26.2	62.5	38.4	6.5	67.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-553 and 92-556.

¹ Percentage of the total ethnic or linguistic group.² Regardless of ethnic origin.³ Ratio between those of each ethnic origin and those of the corresponding mother tongue.

325. There is no doubt that mother tongue retention has been affected by regional and economic differences, and particularly by rural and urban population patterns. According to the 1961 census, 11 per cent of Canada's population was rural farm, 19 per cent rural non-farm, and 70 per cent urban. The distribution of those of non-British, non-French origin showed only slight deviations from these figures as is seen in Table 12. All three classifications (rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban) showed similar proportions of language retention. However, because these figures do not consider the proportion of each classification that is made up of immigrants, they do not give an accurate indication of long-range mother tongue retention. By subtracting immigrant population figures from those for mother tongues we are left with an approximate indication of the linguistic support provided by the native-born segment of the population: 32 percentage points among rural farm, 28 percentage points among rural non-farm, and 11 percentage points among urban. Thus, mother tongue retention among the native born is stronger in rural areas.

Rural-urban
influences

Table 12. Rural and Urban Areas

A. Distribution in numbers and percentages of the total population and of the non-British, non-French population, by rural farm, rural non-farm, and urban areas—Canada, 1961

	All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
All origins				
Number	19,238,247	2,072,785	3,465,072	12,700,390
%	100	11.4	19.0	69.6
Non-British and non-French				
Number	4,701,232	647,713	824,891	3,228,628
%	100	13.8	17.5	68.7

B. Percentage of immigrants of the population of non-British, non-French origin

	All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
	34.1	22.9	20.4	39.9

C. Percentage of the population of non-British, non-French origin with neither English nor French as mother tongue

	All areas	Rural farm	Rural non-farm	Urban
	51.1	54.7	48.3	51.1

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

326. The urban population of other than British or French ethnic origin shows a strong tendency to concentrate in metropolitan areas. In 1961, over 46 per cent of the total resided in eleven metropolitan areas: Calgary, Edmonton, Hamilton, Kitchener, Montreal, Ottawa, Sudbury, Toronto, Vancouver, Windsor, and Winnipeg. The proportion of the population of ethnic origin other than British or French in these urban concentrations varies from 18 per cent in Montreal to 47 per cent in Winnipeg, but this does not seem to have a directly proportional effect on linguistic assimilation. The support of ancestral languages by the native born is substantially higher in Winnipeg, Sudbury, and Edmonton than in other urban areas, although all three of these cities had lower proportions of immigrants than Toronto and Montreal.¹ This leads us to conclude that social, economic, cultural, and historic factors, as well as immigration, influence retention of ancestral languages among the urban native born.

327. Finally, it should be noted that of the total Canadian population, 232,000, or just over 1 per cent, were unable to speak either English or French in 1961. Thirty-four per cent of this group is Italian, mainly because many Italians in Canada are recent immigrants.

B. Provincial Transfer Patterns

328. In this section we will outline some of the more distinct regional features influencing the retention of mother tongues other than English or French and indicate how they interact with the factors already mentioned.

1. The Atlantic Provinces

329. In 1961, the four Atlantic Provinces had a population of only 175,000 of ethnic origin other than British or French. This total is less than half that in any other single province. They made up only 9 per cent of the area's total population and reported much the lowest level of mother tongue retention in Canada. Only 14 per cent reported mother tongues other than English or French (including Gaelic).²

330. This is mainly the result of two facts: much of the population in this area lived there for many generations and there is a low level of immigration. Only 11 per cent of the population of other than French

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-137.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-138. Among those of British origin in Nova Scotia in 1961, there were almost 3,700 persons who gave Gaelic as their mother tongue, almost half of the Canadian total of 7,500 persons who reported Gaelic as their mother tongue. Presumably, many of these were native-born. However, the number of persons of Gaelic mother tongue is declining rapidly.

or British ethnic origin was not Canadian born. The survival of ancestral languages in this area can be ascribed almost entirely to immigration.

331. The population of the Atlantic region of non-British, non-French ethnic origin also differs from that in other regions of Canada in its economic and regional distribution. It has a low percentage of urban population and a very high percentage of rural non-farm population.¹ The rural farm proportion is relatively low, 9 per cent, but provides 17 per cent of those who still maintain their mother tongues.

2. Quebec

332. Quebec's demographic and language patterns are quite different from those in the Atlantic region. At the last census, 9 per cent of the population reported an ethnic origin other than British or French. This section of the population was almost completely urban; 92 per cent lived in urban areas and 84 per cent in metropolitan Montreal. Despite this urban concentration there was a high rate of mother tongue retention. Sixty-two per cent reported mother tongues other than English or French.² This high level of retention of the ancestral language as the mother tongue in Quebec runs counter to the general trend among urban populations. It can likely be explained by the high density of some cultural groups in some districts of metropolitan Montreal and by their occupational and educational patterns, especially among post-war immigrants. It is probable also that cultural awareness among the French-speaking population has stimulated similar awareness among other groups in Quebec.

333. In 1961, as shown in Table 13, 57 per cent of those of other than British or French origin who were also bilingual³ in the two official languages, lived in Quebec. Thirty-one per cent of the population of other than British or French ethnic origin in Quebec reported bilingualism in the official languages, a slightly higher rate than that among those of French or British ethnic origin (24 and 29 per cent respectively). Table 14 shows the distribution of bilingual persons among five ethnic origin categories.

Official
bilingualism

334. In proportion to its total population in Quebec the Jewish category had the highest percentage of bilingual members and the German the lowest. However, in numbers the Italian category was the major contributor; 27 per cent of those of non-French, non-British ethnic origin in Quebec who were also bilingual in the official language were of Italian origin.

¹ *Ibid.*, Table A-139.

² *Ibid.*, Table A-138.

³ For a discussion of the word "bilingualism" as used here see *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 26.

Table 13. Bilingualism of those of Non-British, Non-French Origin

Distribution in numbers and percentages of those of non-British, non-French ethnic origin who are officially bilingual, by province—1961

	Number	%
Canada	246,730	100.0
Quebec	139,493	56.5
Ontario	63,152	25.6
Prairie Provinces	25,422	10.3
British Columbia	12,490	5.3
Atlantic Provinces	5,023	2.0
Northwest Territories and the Yukon	700	0.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table 14. Bilingualism of the Non-British, Non-French in Quebec

Number and percentage of the non-British, non-French population who were officially bilingual—Quebec, 1961

	Population	Bilingual	
		Number	%
Total	450,800	139,493	30.9
Italian	108,522	37,674	34.7
Jewish	74,677	27,029	36.7
German	39,457	9,772	24.7
Polish	30,790	9,935	32.2
Ukrainian	16,588	5,727	34.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

3. Ontario

335. Ontario's population of other than British or French ethnic origin increased from 18 per cent in 1941 to 30 per cent in 1961. This substantial increase was the result of immigration and internal Canadian migration. Of the 1,900,000 Ontario residents of neither British nor French origin in 1961, 41 per cent were immigrants and 59 per cent native born. They were dispersed throughout the province, although the greatest concentrations were in metropolitan Toronto and southern Ontario.

336. A substantial proportion of the native born within this number can trace their roots in Canada back a century or more. As early as 1871, 13 per cent of Ontario's population reported non-British, non-French ethnic origin and even then they were concentrated in the southern part of the province.

337. This historical fact added to a high degree of urbanization is responsible for the low rate of mother tongue retention among the native born. Fifty-one per cent of the province's population of other than British or French origin reported mother tongues other than English or French in 1961; 41 per cent were immigrants. The contribution of the Canadian born to the maintenance of their ancestral languages is considerably lower than in the Prairie Provinces. It is also interesting to note that in Ontario a lower proportion of the rural farm population retained their ancestral languages than in the western provinces.¹ This rural farm population is composed largely of descendants of the pioneers and earlier immigrants. Recent immigrants to Ontario have tended to settle in the cities and thus have not provided linguistic reinforcement in rural areas.

4. *The Prairie Provinces*

338. In 1961, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta had the largest proportions in Canada reporting ethnic origin other than British or French and the highest rate of mother tongue retention by the native born. These three provinces also registered the largest proportions of rural farm populations in Canada.

339. In each province, those of neither French nor British ethnic origin constituted about half the population. The figures are: Manitoba 48 per cent, Saskatchewan 53 per cent, and Alberta 49 per cent. Within this group about the same percentage retained their mother tongues. The strength of these languages is remarkable because it has been attained without much support from immigration. The proportion of the population which is not native-born ranges from 19 to 28 per cent in the three provinces. The maintenance of their ancestral languages has thus fallen to the native born and their efforts have been more successful than their counterparts in any other area.²

340. The highest rates of retention of mother tongues other than English or French are in the rural segment of the population. They exceed by a wide margin both the national and provincial averages. The proportion of mother tongue retention among urban dwellers is not

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-138.

² *Ibid.*

significantly different from that in Ontario or British Columbia, but the urban population of the Prairie Provinces contains larger proportions of native born.

341. The reasons for this strong support of languages other than English or French by the native born can be traced in the history of the settling of the prairie region, the cultural and religious composition of its population, and its economic structure. A large proportion of the population is of pioneer stock, and the system of block agricultural settlement favoured language and cultural preservation. Although the prairie region has the highest rate of persons knowing two or more languages, only 16 per cent of the population of other than British or French ethnic origin reported bilingualism in the official languages.

5. British Columbia

342. In 1961 the census figures recorded a level of 47 per cent of mother tongue retention among the non-British, non-French population in British Columbia. The retention rate among the native born in British Columbia is slightly higher than that in Ontario and much below that in the Prairies. In British Columbia, bilingualism in the official languages is almost non-existent among the Canadian born of other than British or French ethnic origin: in 1961 only 2 per cent reported bilingualism in the official languages.

C. Transfer Patterns in Four Language Groups

343. The four language groups described below are of different sizes and have different cultural affiliations, Canadian historical roots, vitality, and prospects for survival in this country. Two of them, the German and Dutch, belong to the Germanic family of languages as does English; Italian is a Romance language like French; Ukrainian is a Slavic language with no affinity to either of Canada's official languages.

1. German

344. The proportion of the population who reported German as their mother tongue did not vary much between the 1931 and 1961 censuses. In the consecutive censuses each decade the percentages were 4 per cent, 3 per cent, 2 per cent, and 3 per cent. However these percentages include those of all ethnic origins who gave German as their mother tongue; the number of German ethnic origin who also gave German as their mother tongue was considerably smaller. In 1961,

for example, 27 per cent of the total giving German as their mother tongue were persons of other than German ethnic origin. It should be remembered, of course, that the two world wars affected the self-identification of persons whose mother tongue was German, or who were of German ethnic origin.¹ This is another clear indication of the difficulty of equating mother tongue and ethnic origin classifications.

345. Of the one million who reported German ethnic origin in the 1961 census only 39 per cent gave German as their mother tongue. There were extensive variations between provinces in this proportion, varying from Manitoba with 59 per cent to Nova Scotia with 3 per cent.² The German language has been almost eliminated in Nova Scotia but in the prairie region, British Columbia, and Quebec German was preserved as their mother tongue by about half the German population. Why such wide differences?

Provincial
variations

346. The historical development of a particular province, its economy, and the cultural aspirations of the group itself have been the chief determinants of the linguistic assimilation rate. German immigrants settled in Nova Scotia as early as the 18th century and the trickle of immigrants in more recent times did not halt the assimilation process.

347. The strength of the German language in the three Prairie Provinces is a result of two phenomena—agricultural block settlements in relatively unpopulated areas and a large proportion of Mennonites and Hutterites for whom the German language is of paramount importance in their social and religious life.

348. Except for Nova Scotia, the Prairie Provinces had the lowest percentages of immigrant population, yet this region recorded the highest rate of participation by the native born in maintaining use of the German language. The same provinces recorded the highest proportions of rural population, which has helped maintain the use of the German language.

349. East and west of the prairies the rate of retention of German as a mother tongue among the native born was much lower. The larger proportions of urban population in British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec contributed to a lower rate of mother tongue retention. In Quebec the difference between the proportion retaining their mother tongue and the proportion of immigrants was only 0.3 of a percentage point. In British Columbia it was 7. This relatively high level in British Columbia is due largely to the migration from the prairies of German Mennonites. Ontario is the key province for the future of the German language since in 1961 it contained 38 per cent of Canada's population

¹ Ryder, "The Interpretation of Origin Statistics," 272-4.

² See Appendix II, Tables A-140 and A-141.

of German ethnic origin and since a significant proportion of German residents of Ontario had two or more generations of Canadian residence.

350. It is clear that the majority of native-born residents with German as their mother tongue are from the Prairie Provinces and that most of those who speak German in other provinces are immigrants. With the continuing movement from rural to urban centres and with immigrants' increasing preference for urban settlement, there is little prospect of German language survival beyond the second generation of native-born residents. This development has been taking place despite the international status of the German language, its place in the curricula of Canadian public schools, high schools, and universities, and extensive educational activities organized by German communities.

2. *Ukrainian*

351. One of the distinguishing marks of Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin is their strong allegiance to their mother tongue. This allegiance is strengthened by fear that their language is threatened with annihilation in their land of origin.¹ In 1961, 64 per cent reported that their mother tongue was Ukrainian despite the fact that the group had one of the lowest proportions (23 per cent) of immigrants among the larger Canadian ethnic origin categories. This means that the maintenance of the Ukrainian language was achieved, to a large extent, by the native born.

Importance of
the prairies

352. The prairie region is the stronghold of the Ukrainian language in Canada. According to the 1961 census, two-thirds of all those of Ukrainian ethnic origin who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue lived in the Prairie Provinces. This region was the original area settled by early Ukrainian immigrants. Its vast, sparsely populated expanses offered much-wanted land, and an opportunity to re-establish life according to familiar patterns and to pursue group aspirations and goals. The Ukrainian language was the everyday means of communication during the first decades of settlement, and the isolation of rural communities increased its use by those born in Canada. The Ukrainian language has retained its strong position among the second generation of native born even though recent decades brought few immigrants to the region and despite a population shift to urban areas. Ancestral language retention has been enhanced by the crucial position of the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian national churches and by vigorous educational activities. The cumulative result of these and other factors is a high rate of language maintenance, especially in the rural farm

¹ Compare Wangenheim, "The Ukrainians: A Case Study of the 'Third Force,'" 89-90.

category, in which Ukrainians are still numerous.¹ In Manitoba, for example, 83 per cent of the rural farm population of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. A smaller proportion of the urban population of Ukrainian ethnic origin reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue, but the percentage was still high (63 per cent).

353. Although the high level of maintenance of the Ukrainian language is reflected in all provinces, the variations are substantial and significant. In British Columbia the proportion of those of Ukrainian origin who reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue is well below the percentage on the prairies, but it is still high (44 per cent), especially since the immigrant population is only 16 per cent of the total. Quebec's Ukrainian population is small but the mother tongue retention rate equals that of Saskatchewan and Alberta (approximately 70 per cent). Immigrants make up 45 per cent of the Ukrainian population in Quebec; and this high level of language retention was achieved by a highly urbanized population.

Provincial
variations

354. In 1961, one-third of Ontario's residents of Ukrainian origin were immigrants but 58 per cent reported their mother tongue as Ukrainian. As elsewhere, a higher percentage of those of Ukrainian origin had retained their mother tongue in rural areas than in urban but in Ontario the rural segment of the population was small.

355. The census figures show that the native born provide the majority of those of Ukrainian mother tongue, particularly in the prairie region. This suggests that the Ukrainian language will remain strong, although increasing urbanization of the Canadian population generally, together with the low rate of Ukrainian immigration, will probably bring a gradual decline in the number reporting Ukrainian as their mother tongue.

3. *Italian*

356. Between 1951 and 1961, the Italian ethnic origin category more than doubled its proportion of the Canadian population; it was the fastest growing ethnic origin category in Canada. It is also distinguished from other non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories by its high rate (95 per cent) of urbanization and by its heavy concentration in Ontario and Quebec. Among the larger origin categories only the Jewish group has a comparable rate of urbanization. In 1961, 74 per cent of the 450,000 who gave Italian as their ethnic origin reported Italian as their mother tongue. Their retention of their mother tongue thus exceeds even that of the Ukrainians.

¹ See Appendix II, Tables A-142 and A-143.

Provincial
variations

357. Eighty-five per cent of Canada's population of Italian ethnic origin lived in Quebec and Ontario in 1961, almost all in urban areas.¹ There were 63,000 persons of Italian ethnic origin in the western provinces, nearly two-thirds of them in British Columbia. Their level of retention of the ancestral language was somewhat lower than in Quebec and Ontario and the percentage of immigrants was also lower. A larger proportion of the Italian population in the West was rural farm than in Quebec and Ontario but their numbers were too small to permit any valid conclusions regarding their retention of their ancestral language.

358. The high rate of retention of their mother tongue by those of Italian ethnic origin must be measured in terms of the high proportion of immigrants. Eighty per cent of those reporting Italian as their mother tongue were immigrants. It seems that wherever immigrants are concentrated in large numbers, as in Quebec and Ontario, the likelihood of the mother tongue being perpetuated beyond the first native-born generation is better than in provinces with a smaller Italian population. Rural environment does not seem to reinforce retention of their mother tongue among Italians, as it does among Germans and Ukrainians, but the numbers of Italians in rural areas is too small to permit firm conclusions.

359. It is worth noting that, although Italian like French is a Romance language, its affinity with the French language does not seem to mean that retention of the Italian tongue is less likely in Quebec. Indeed the native born of Italian origin in Quebec give slightly greater support to their ancestral language than do those living in Ontario.

4. Dutch

360. Any study of the Dutch language transfer pattern in Canada is made more difficult by the various names used for the language: Dutch, Netherland, and sometimes even Deutsch, which means German. Similar confusion is found in any study of the Dutch ethnic origin category, which includes a sizable group of persons of Mennonite religion who are frequently associated with the German group. For these reasons a student of the Dutch language in Canada must be particularly cautious in the use of statistics.

361. The most striking characteristics of Canada's Dutch ethnic origin category are a low rate of retention of the ancestral language and a high proportion of rural population. In 1961, 22 per cent of the category was rural farm, almost double the rate for Canada's popula-

¹ *Ibid.*, Tables A-144 and A-145.

tion as a whole, and another 22 per cent was rural non-farm.¹ Only 56 per cent of the category lived in urban areas.

362. Of the 430,000 of Dutch extraction in the 1961 census only 38 per cent reported Dutch as their mother tongue. This was the lowest level of mother tongue retention reported by any of the larger non-British, non-French ethnic origin categories. However, unlike the other major categories, 10 per cent of the Dutch population reported languages other than English, French, or Dutch as their mother tongues, mostly German. We may therefore say that the level of retention of ancestral languages among members of the Dutch ethnic origin category was nearly 48 per cent. This division of linguistic allegiance is partly the result of some changing the ethnic origin they reported during the war years and partly a reflection of religious affiliation. In 1961, 58,000 belonged to the Mennonite Church. Most of these lived in the Prairie Provinces where German was reported as their mother tongue by many who claimed Dutch ethnic origin. For example, of Manitoba's Dutch population, only 26 per cent reported Dutch as their mother tongue and another 45 per cent reported a language other than English, French, or Dutch. This phenomenon gives a good example of the tenuous relationship between ethnic origin and mother tongue.

Retention of
mother tongue

363. Retention of the Dutch language by the native born varies between provinces. In Nova Scotia, Quebec, and British Columbia the proportions of immigrants are higher than the proportion of those reporting Dutch as their mother tongue, which suggests that some immigrants report another language as their mother tongue, perhaps German. Theoretically such figures mean that the Dutch language has completely disappeared among the native born in Nova Scotia and British Columbia and this may almost be the case. Across Canada in 1961, only 3,700 Canadian-born residents claimed Dutch as their mother tongue. On the basis of this trend it seems most unlikely that the Dutch language will survive in Canada except as a language of immigrants.

Provincial
variations

D. The Impact of Radio and Television

364. It is extremely difficult to forecast future language retention rates on the basis of past language retention patterns. A new factor has been added to the various determinants in the last few years; television may exert an overwhelming influence on linguistic assimilation.

¹ *Ibid.*, Tables A-146 and A-147.

365. In the past the isolation of rural areas has been a key factor in the preservation of most mother tongues. Today there are no parts of Canada without radio service and few corners of our country not reached by television transmission. It is unlikely that children can grow up in Canada in the 1960's without constant and direct exposure to the English or French language, or to both, even in their own homes. The electronic media are certain to have a considerable impact upon the future levels of ancestral language retention.

366. Schools are the formal means by which a society transmits its knowledge, skills, languages, and culture from one generation to the next. Canada's public school systems are primarily concerned with the transmission of knowledge that is essential to all citizens, including knowledge about Canadian institutions, the traditions and circumstances that have shaped them, and the two official languages. Since those of British and French ethnic origin are the main groups in Canada, it is appropriate that the British and French cultures dominate in the public schools. But public schools can also provide an instrument for safeguarding the contribution of other cultures.

367. Because of the interdependence of language and culture we must consider the teaching of languages other than English and French in the educational system as an important aspect of any programme to preserve the cultures of those of non-British, non-French origin. Such teaching can have the additional benefit of increasing the country's linguistic resources—resources important to any modern country and especially to one that wishes to play a role in the international community.

368. There are two aspects to the question of teaching languages other than the two official languages in Canada. On the one hand, there is the need to preserve the languages and cultures of those who have been in Canada for many generations. On the other hand, there is the need to preserve the languages and cultures of new immigrants while also integrating them into Canadian society. Obviously these two aspects require different techniques. Programmes that would be appropriate for teaching languages to the children of those who have been here for many generations would not be suitable for immigrants'

children, who must also learn one of the official languages as their working language, as well as the other official language.

Chapter outline

369. The public education system is the first concern in this chapter. In this system, it is important to make a distinction between learning the official languages and opportunities for learning other languages and the cultural subjects related to them. We have already recommended in our Book on education a systematic development of full educational opportunities in both the official languages wherever population concentrations permit. We have also recommended the development of a systematic approach to teaching the second official language to members of both the major linguistic communities. We do not recommend the same degree of development for the teaching of other languages in Canada; rather, we recommend that there be opportunities to study many languages within the context of the public education system.¹

370. In Canada there are also private schools established by non-British, non-French cultural groups who want their children to share in the cultural heritage of their ancestors as well as in their Canadian heritage. In the second section of this chapter we describe the part played by these private schools in the maintenance of languages and cultures and suggest possible ways of helping these groups to continue this important work.

371. We have already stressed in our Book on education the need for an articulated and continuous approach in the provision of official-language minority higher education.² The same approach should be followed in considering educational opportunities for other languages and their related cultural subjects. The third part of this chapter discusses higher education, and the need for integration among all three levels of the educational system insofar as other languages and cultures are concerned. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of adult, or continuing, education.

General principles

372. In considering the question of educational policy we have been guided by three general principles. First, members of non-British, non-French cultural groups should have opportunities to maintain their own languages and cultures within the educational system if they indicate sufficient interest in doing so. Of course, population concentration, continuing immigration, and the different historical background of the various groups, both in their homelands and in Canada, all raise important practical considerations in the application of this principle. Second, where public support is concerned, the question of language and cultural maintenance must be seen within the broader context of

¹ See below, § 378.

² Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, II, chaps. XII and XIII.

the question of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada as a whole; for example, the learning of third languages should not be carried on at the expense of public support for learning the second official language. Third, since the elementary school years are the most vital ones for the purpose of maintaining languages, the most extensive effort should be made at this level.

373. In earlier times in Canada, when people originally settled among other members of their cultural group, and when they could expect to be born, live, and die in one particular community, the local school could be conducted in the language of the community. This way of life is no longer possible. As we stated in Book II of our *Report*, "The modern school is a complex institution and is a part of an intricate and highly specialized system. Any kind of minority-language schools must be fitted into this school system."¹ The principle of the right of parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice was elaborated in detail in our Book on education where we discussed the practical implication of this principle and reviewed the complex question of languages of instruction in the modern education system. Our conclusion was that, in our mobile and changing society, with the increasing scope, sophistication, and complexity of modern educational facilities and curricula, it is not feasible for Canada's public education systems to employ languages other than English and French extensively as languages of instruction. While our recommendations below will propose substantial educational opportunities for languages other than English and French where sufficient demand exists, the aim of improving educational opportunities in the official languages must be maintained as the primary objective.

Changed
conditions

374. To a large extent, the study of a language or culture will gain a place in elementary school curricula if it involves basic knowledge and skills useful for life in Canadian society. It will gain entry to the curricula of the secondary schools if it is seen as a means of intellectual or vocational preparation. Although the operative languages in Canada will continue to be French and English the use of other languages and opportunities to learn them can be an important asset to all Canadians. Moreover, Canada has been and remains a country with a high level of immigration and this fact increases the viability and usefulness of other languages. For these reasons, and also because many Canadians of ethnic origin other than British or French wish to see their children provided with educational opportunities in their own languages, we recommend certain ways to develop the teaching of other languages and cultures in the public schools.

Benefits

¹ *Ibid.*, § 19.

375. The perspective of those who wish educational opportunities in other languages for their children is a most important consideration. Where parents regard such opportunities as of primary importance, we feel that governments should offer as much assistance as possible. All the factors discussed in this chapter must be carefully weighed, taking into consideration the overriding goal of ensuring that all children have the best possible education as preparation for a productive adult life. The most effective assistance can be offered by providing through the public schools optional instruction in other languages and related cultural subjects, wherever sufficient demand exists. Our Commission's research indicates that requests for such instruction would not be too extensive. A high level of education is assuming more and more importance for the individual in our society. Parents who choose to have their children instructed in a language that is not useful in the work world or in our institutions make a choice; in effect, they may be choosing for their children a knowledge of the language and culture of their own cultural group at the expense of instruction in other fields which are perhaps more relevant to Canadian society. Even so, the principle of parental choice remains valid and, in cases where Canadian citizens attach great importance to their linguistic and cultural heritage, opportunities for instruction in these areas should be available.

A. Public Schools¹

1. The teaching of languages other than English and French in elementary schools

376. All provinces authorize the teaching of a second language in elementary schools, and in some provinces (Manitoba, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Quebec) instruction in a second language is compulsory. French is almost invariably the second language for Anglophone pupils and English for Francophone pupils, which is to be expected in bilingual country where these are the two official languages. In two provinces, other languages are authorized beginning in Grade VII. During the 1966-67 school year, 2,100 Grade VII and VIII pupils in Manitoba were studying German. In Saskatchewan, three school districts offered Ukrainian as an option in Grades VII and VIII, and a six-year sequence of Ukrainian study from Grade VII to Grade XII, with the first two years stressing facility in conversation and comprehension. Otherwise, the study of modern languages other than French and English in public elementary and junior high schools has only been on a local,

¹Data in sections A, B, and C is taken primarily from T. Krukowski and P. McKellar "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B.

rather than a provincial, basis. German has been taught in a junior high school in New Germany, Nova Scotia; Spanish in Montreal; Russian in Toronto; and no doubt other languages have been taught elsewhere experimentally, either as an option or as part of a programme of enrichment. However, the number of teachers and pupils involved has not been large. In all cases the courses are offered as preparation for high school programmes.

377. Modern languages other than English and French have therefore won only a small place in the curricula of the public elementary and junior high schools in Canada. There are many communities where there is a concentration of people who share a particular ancestral language but where the language is not taught before secondary school, if it is taught at all. Yet the years between five and 14 are considered crucial for the retention of a language, and children need a firm grasp of their mother tongue before leaving elementary school if they are to retain it in later years.

Present
curricula

a. Maintenance of languages and cultures

378. Briefs to the Commission have advocated the teaching of languages other than English and French as subjects at the elementary level in all the publicly controlled schools in areas where there is a strong concentration of a particular group desiring such instruction. We believe that, where a demand on the part of parents exists, public education systems should provide courses that will assist the various cultural groups in the maintenance of their languages and cultures. They should do so in order to safeguard the contribution these languages and cultures can make to the quality of Canadian life. Therefore, **we recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.**

Recommendation 3

379. Since education lies within the jurisdiction of the provinces, the provincial educational authorities, after consultation with representatives of the appropriate cultural groups and scholars in the relevant disciplines, must decide what constitutes a sufficient demand. It will be necessary when doing the planning for these classes to consider other demands on the school system (including the need to teach English or French to immigrant children), the number of languages that would be involved, possible difficulties in developing curricula and textbooks, and the problem of recruiting and training teachers. Where demand is sufficient and resources permit, it may also prove feasible that some instruction in the related cultural subjects can be offered using the appropriate language as the language of instruction. We also feel it

is essential that eligibility for these classes not be based exclusively on ethnic origin or cultural background. We have often stated our conviction that ethnicity should not be a governing principle in Canadian life. Eligibility for such classes should be based on interest and ability. However, it is obvious that the children most interested will be those from homes where the language spoken corresponds with the language offered.

Possible
problems

380. The introduction of such classes within the regular school programme may present difficulties because of the priority that must be given to initiating courses in the other official language. We have already recommended that the study of the other official language should be obligatory for all students in Canadian schools.¹ In addition, at the elementary level the curriculum provides relatively little flexibility for introducing optional subjects, since the teaching of basic knowledge and skills requires most if not all the school day. At this level, the teaching of languages other than French and English might mean eliminating some aspects of the basic curriculum, and would therefore entail a deliberate choice by parents and school authorities.

381. Nevertheless, the provision of these classes will affirm Canada's determination to maintain its linguistic resources. They will provide members of other cultural groups with the educational means of retaining their languages in any area where they are sufficiently numerous and concerned. The children will be taught their ancestral language during their most receptive years, and where it proves possible their language will be used as the language of instruction in teaching related cultural subjects. If the classes are carefully arranged to avoid interfering with the regular school programme, they will neither deprive the children of association with members of other cultural groups nor interfere with the teaching of the two official languages. They will also provide opportunities for children to go beyond a knowledge of the two official languages to an acquaintance with other languages and cultures, an appropriate objective in our contemporary world.

b. Immigrants and the official languages

382. Immigrants and the children of immigrants present a particular educational problem and responsibility in a country such as Canada. The public schools must accept the task of teaching English or French to those who enter school with an inadequate knowledge of the official language which is being used as the language of instruction. This situation requires special smaller classes of ten to 15 pupils, and teachers trained in the techniques of teaching a second language. Where possible,

¹ *Ibid.*, II, § 614.

the schools should also provide special facilities for such classes and continuing evaluation of the courses offered. We have already recommended the establishment by provincial authorities of French- and English-language centres for the training of second-language teachers.¹ Since the basic problems of second-language teaching are universal, these centres could also prepare teachers for these special classes.

383. The teaching of the appropriate official language is part of the process of integrating immigrant children into Canadian society as a whole: they are becoming Canadians and part of their education for citizenship is language education. The benefits of immigration and of linguistic diversity accrue to Canadian society at large. Therefore the federal government as the government of the country as a whole, rather than provincial or local governments, should be responsible for providing the funds required for the teaching of English or French to children entering the public school system without an adequate knowledge of either of the official languages. However, it should provide only those funds required over and above the cost of teaching any child in the school system. Therefore, **we recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred.**

Recommendation 4

384. These special classes should also be open to the children of Canadian-born parents who wish their children to learn another language. If such classes were available more Canadian-born members of the non-French, non-British cultural groups would be likely to teach their mother tongues to their children at home during the children's early years.

Eligibility

385. A phased introduction of the appropriate official language as the language of instruction may be the most effective method for such classes. Where there are sufficient numbers and resources instruction might be given in a language other than French or English in Grade 1, with the appropriate official language being introduced gradually up to Grade v and the mother tongue concurrently reduced. After Grade v special instruction should no longer be necessary.

Phased introduction

386. We are keenly aware of the problem presented by the choice of English-language or bilingual schools rather than French-language schools by immigrant parents in the Province of Quebec. However, we believe, that we must maintain the principle of the right of parents to choose between the official languages for the schooling of their

Right of parents

¹ *Ibid.*, II, § 677.

children.¹ At the same time, we are aware of the threat to the survival of the French language in Quebec. Because the issues inherent in this question are so profound, touching on the very nature of the country, we intend to deal with them in the concluding section of our *Report*.

2. *The teaching of languages other than English or French in secondary schools*

387. A total of five modern languages other than French and English are authorized and taught in public high schools in Canada: German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, and Ukrainian. But no modern language is taught to anything like the same extent as French in the English-language high schools of Canada or English in the French-language high schools. Latin is the language second to French in many provinces, although it is nowhere compulsory except for Francophones in Quebec's classical colleges. Latin and Greek were compulsory in Quebec's classical colleges until recently. Now one of Greek, Spanish, or German is compulsory.

Current
situation

388. Only German, and in the three Prairie Provinces, Ukrainian, can be said to have sizable enrolments. German owes its position in part to the number and long history of the German cultural group in Canada and in part to its status as a world language. The teaching of Ukrainian in the Prairie Provinces is clearly the result of the presence of large numbers of people of Ukrainian ethnic origin, many of them with a strong interest in maintaining their ancestral language. Spanish, Italian, and Russian all have some place in high school curricula as world languages. Italian has more students in Ontario, where the bulk of the large number of Italian immigrants are concentrated, than in other provinces. In recent years the number of students taking the Grade XIII examinations in Italian in Ontario has been considerably higher than the number taking the Grade XII examinations. This strongly suggests the presence of students fluent enough in Italian to attempt the senior matriculation examination without formal instruction in the language in earlier grades.

389. There appears to be a slight trend towards widening the range of modern languages offered in the high schools and lengthening the programme in some of them. There is also some indication that teaching methods are changing to stress conversation and comprehension rather than grammar and literature. These changes have been helped by such innovations as television, language laboratories, and tape recorders, and by an increasing number of teachers fluent in the language they are teaching. Universities that in the past refused admission credits for certain modern languages are now broadening their language admission requirements.

¹ *Ibid.*, II, §§ 47-50.

390. At the secondary level any changes in language courses should be seen in relation to what is being done in the elementary schools. Language classes for elementary and junior high school children might well produce secondary school students having a knowledge of any one of many languages. Provincial education authorities should therefore investigate the possibility of providing more advanced work in secondary schools in certain languages spoken in Canada, and also in related cultural subjects. If the numbers are sufficient, advanced classes are desirable for students who already have some knowledge of a language. Classes for beginners would be continued as well unless demand declined. Provincial education authorities should also consider widening the range of language options authorized and taught, wherever sufficient demand exists. Therefore, **we recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in cultural subjects related to them, be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes.**

Recommendation 5

391. This implies, of course, the development of curricula for these courses and the recruitment and training of teachers fluent in the languages to be taught. Sufficient demand must be defined by provincial educational authorities acting in consultation with representatives of the appropriate cultural group and scholars in the relevant disciplines. We do not underestimate either the difficulties involved, because of other demands on our school systems, nor the time that will be required to develop such courses. However, it is still important, in the Canadian context, that additional modern language programmes be established and that this be done as rapidly as possible.

392. Another possibility at the secondary level would be the development of high schools in which a language other than French or English would be the main language of instruction. In addition to serving a particular cultural group, such schools would have the additional benefit of providing opportunities for intensive education in another language for students of all ethnic origins. Because such a development would have to be carefully weighed against other demands for educational resources, particularly that of developing official-language minority schools, we have not made this a recommendation. However, it is a development that might be possible in the future, and one which could provide a powerful instrument for safeguarding the language and culture of a particular group.

Another
possibility

3. *The teaching of Canadian history*

393. For many cultural groups, it is as important that their contribution to the development of Canada be generally recognized as that their mother tongue be taught in the public schools. They feel that

such recognition is necessary if their children are to take pride in their heritage and be respected by other Canadians. Many cultural groups feel that their contribution to Canadian life has not been adequately treated in textbooks or courses in Canadian history in the public elementary and high schools. For example, a brief presented to the Commission by the Ukrainian Canadian Committee recommended that:

An extensive revision of school textbooks for public schools should take place in which the Ministers of Citizenship and Immigration together with provincial Ministers of Education examine their contents and exclude discriminatory material and give the students an unbiased social studies material, referring to the different ethnic groups, their origin, history, culture, literature and their accomplishments for the benefit of this country.

Commenting on the announcement that a study of Canadian history textbooks was to be undertaken for the Commission¹ a German-language newspaper wrote:

It is to be hoped that these two historians will take the trouble to examine the historical contributions of "other ethnic groups" as well. Among these, the Dutch and the Germans have been established in the country for as long as the British themselves. This desire does not express a yearning for "history with feeling" but rather the demand that at long last Canadian history do justice to all ethnic groups in Canada and not only to those of British or French origin.²

Past treatment of other groups

394. What little information there is about the treatment of cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian history courses and textbooks suggests that they have been virtually ignored. The courses of study in Canadian history for junior and senior high schools in the ten provinces were analyzed almost 15 years ago. Some 36 objectives of teaching Canadian history were given in the courses of study set out by the provincial departments of education, but few had to do with promoting understanding among the different cultural groups in the population. For example, the Ontario objectives included engendering "Tolerance, Respect and Goodwill," and those in Saskatchewan knowledge of "modes of Life elsewhere." But none of the 81 topics into which the field of Canadian history was divided dealt specifically with cultural groups other than the British or French. Topics that might

¹ Marcel Trudel and Geneviève Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks: A Comparative Study*, Studies of the R.C.B.&B., No. 5 (English translation in preparation).

² *Montrealer Zeitung*, April 21, 1966. The original German text reads: Es ist nur zu hoffen, dass die beiden Historiker sich auch die Mühe machen, die geschichtlichen Leistungen der "anderen ethnischen Gruppen" zu untersuchen, von denen die Holländer und Deutschen im Lande solange ansässig sind wie die Briten selbst. In diesem Wunsche liegt nicht das Bedürfnis nach "Geschichte mit Gefühl", sondern das Verlangen, dass die kanadische Geschichte endlich allen Gruppen der Nation gerecht wird und nicht nur der von britischer und französischer Herkunft.

deal with such groups, such as the Manitoba schools question, population trends in Canada, immigration and emigration, social development in Canada, and urban-rural development received little class time. Immigration and emigration, for example, received an average of 50 minutes of class time in junior high schools during the school year, and the same amount of time in senior high schools.¹

395. The Commission's study of the textbooks in Canadian history used in elementary and secondary schools did not deal specifically with cultural groups other than the British and French. None of the themes in the teaching of Canadian history selected for study dealt with other cultural groups. However, in treating themes of particular interest to the Commission the authors referred to the stress on the assimilation of languages and cultures other than French and English in English-language textbooks—a stress that did not necessarily preclude support of the notion of ethnic diversity in Canada.²

Commission
research

396. Evidence available from this and other studies not explicitly concerned with ethnic relations is slight but it concurs with our impression that almost no attention has been paid to cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian history courses and textbooks in the past, and that little attention is paid to them at present.

397. In our Book on education, we examined this question from the perspective of the Francophone and Anglophone societies. There we noted:

Cultural bias

With two dominant themes of French Canadian survival and the survival of Canada as a political union, it comes as no surprise that Canadians of ethnic origins other than French or British are almost ignored. Their presence in Canada is usually overlooked and the scattered references to them suggest that they will become good Canadians when they have submergered their ethnic identity.³

While this attitude may not be suprising, we feel that it is unjustified. Available information suggests that there are grounds for the complaints about cultural bias in courses and textbooks. This bias results mainly from the selection of material but to some extent from probably unconscious misrepresentation.

398. Those of British and French origin have played the major roles in Canada's history, and Canadian institutions have been modelled chiefly on British or French institutions. It is natural, therefore, that the British and French heritages should be stressed in our public schools. They have become part of our Canadian heritage and as such must be understood by all Canadians. However, Canadian society does

¹ Joseph Katz, *The Teaching of Canadian History in Canada* (Winnipeg, 1953), 16.

² Trudel and Jain, *Canadian History Textbooks*.

³ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 763.

not consist of "a kind of hereditary aristocracy composed of two founding peoples, perpetuating itself from father to son, and a lower order of other ethnic groups, forever excluded from spheres of influence."¹ The remarks we made on this subject in our Book on education are also pertinent:

Students are taught history because societies believe that it provides a desirable and necessary training for future citizens.

... students must learn from experience directly relevant to an understanding of their own society. History, it is assumed, can convey this knowledge by showing the problems and the challenges our predecessors faced, by showing the origins and development of our social institutions, by instilling a respect for our heritage.²

Our public schools should give due weight to the role of those of all ethnic origins in our country's development and to the cultures and languages of all Canadians. All Canadian children can benefit from an awareness of our country's cultural diversity and a better knowledge of the contributions of the different cultural groups to Canada's growth.

Necessary
changes

399. Throughout elementary and secondary school, all courses that are directly concerned with Canadian development, and particularly courses in Canadian history and geography, should make explicit the essential part that people of many origins have played and are playing in Canadian life. We are conscious here, as in our earlier discussion on this subject in Book II, of the dangers of interfering with the work of those responsible for history texts and programmes of study. Yet we feel strongly that the interpretation given to the role of those of non-British, non-French origin should be one of the criteria used to assess Canadian history as it is taught in our schools. Certainly all disparaging and prejudicial implications must be eliminated. We therefore extend the remarks we made in our Book on education on history and other textbooks to the treatment of the role played by Canadians of other than British or French origin,³ and urge that the part played by all the cultural groups in Canada be included among the criteria outlined there.

B. Private Schools

400. Many cultural groups, feeling that neither Canadian society as a whole nor the Canadian public schools have provided adequate means for transmitting their languages and cultures to succeeding generations,

¹ *Ibid.*, General Introduction, § 4.

² *Ibid.*, II, §§ 765-6.

³ *Ibid.*, II, §§ 764-73.

have set up private schools to supplement or replace the public schools for their children. These private ethnic schools, whose existence is unknown to many Canadians, have been the object of very little research; yet they have played an important part in the maintenance of the languages and cultures of the non-British, non-French cultural groups.

401. In 1965 Commission researchers conducted a survey of 20 cultural groups in Canada, selected on the basis of their size and involvement in ethnic education. Questionnaires were sent to coordinating ethnic organizations where they existed (for example, the Canadian Polish Congress and the Canadian Jewish Congress), to ethnic associations, churches, and individual schools. Fairly complete information was received from the questionnaires and supplementary sources for 12 groups,¹ and partial information for four others.² The groups included in the survey made up over 90 per cent of the population of those of other ethnic origin.

402. Two types of ethnic private schools are operated in Canada, part-time schools and full-time schools. The two types differ markedly in their formal structure and in the intensity of their educational programme.³ Part-time schools teach language and cultural courses to children who receive their general education through the public school system. These schools usually operate for a few hours a week. Full-time schools are expected to cover the complete curriculum of the appropriate Department of Education and in addition to teach special language and culture courses.

Part-time and
full-time schools

1. *Part-time schools*

403. For two reasons, we neither expect nor intend that existing part-time ethnic schools would be eliminated by the provision of optional language classes in the public school system. First, the new classes will teach language and culture as specific subjects within the basic curriculum. Part-time ethnic schools also teach language and culture, but at the same time they attempt to pass on the students the total cultural heritage of their parents and to do so in as much detail as is possible in a society where everyday life is conducted in another language. This heritage may include particular religions or social traditions and economic or political ideology, and possibly even a dialect of

¹ Armenian, Dutch, Estonian, German, Greek, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Portuguese, and Slovenian.
² Chinese, Japanese, Jewish, and Ukrainian
³ A study of ethnic schools in the United States makes a distinction between schools on weekday afternoons, weekend schools, and all day schools. See Joshua A. Fishman and Vladimir C. Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague, 1966), 92-126.

the language. Since the public schools cannot and should not transmit such knowledge, there is little doubt that ethnic associations will continue to organize their own schools. Second, some cultural groups, because of their small size and lack of geographic concentration, will not have access to classes in their ancestral language in the public school system. Such groups may be equally concerned about the maintenance of their language and culture and may therefore wish to operate part-time schools.

404. The number and location of the part-time schools of 16 cultural groups are shown in Table 15. Over 500 schools were reported to be operating during the 1965-66 school year, one-half in Ontario, one-third in the Prairie Provinces, and one-fifth distributed between Quebec and British Columbia. Three cultural groups—German, Ukrainian, and Polish—account for three-quarters of all Canada's part-time ethnic schools.

Table 15. Part-time Ethnic Schools

Number of part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories—Canada and six provinces, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Quebec	Ontario	Mani- toba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Total	507	68	254	64	21	74	20
Ukrainian	170	9	94	19	12	35	1
German	157*	4	66	36	8	32	11
Polish	57	10	38	5	0	2	2
Jewish	24†	15	—	—	—	—	3
Italian	22	12	9	—	—	1	—
Lithuanian	15	2	10	1	0	1	1
Hungarian	14	3	5	1	1	3	1
Latvian	14	1	12	1	0	0	0
Estonian	10	1	8	0	0	0	1
Greek	8	3	5	0	0	0	0
Slovene	5	1	3	1	—	—	—
Armenian	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
Portuguese	3	3	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	2	—	2	—	—	—	—
Japanese	2	1	1	—	—	—	—
Chinese	1	1	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

* Excludes Mennonite schools.

† Excludes six schools in the Atlantic Provinces.

— Dash indicates data not available.

405. The significance of the number of schools can only be assessed when considered along with their enrolment, which varies from one dozen to several hundred students. In 1965 the total enrolment in the German, Ukrainian, and Jewish schools made up about 65 per cent of all students in ethnic schools, as shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Enrolment in Part-time Ethnic Schools
Number of students in part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories—Canada and six provinces, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Quebec	Ontario	Mani- toba	Saskat- chewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Total	39,833	10,397	16,224	3,529	1,054	4,084	4,545
German	12,623	250	4,752	2,166	325	1,630	3,500
Ukrainian	8,702	1,106	3,896	879	682	2,101	38
Jewish	5,038	4,443	—	—	—	—	595
Polish	4,000	760	2,400	300	0	200	310
Italian	2,887	2,040	822	0	0	25	0
Greek	1,750	850	900	0	0	0	0
Lithuanian	1,520	120	1,360	40	0	0	0
Latvian	992	40	850	45	0	20	37
Estonian	685	60	600	0	0	0	25
Hungarian	601	198	190	18	47	108	40
Slovene	335	53	231	51	—	—	—
Armenian	328	216	112	—	—	—	—
Japanese	156	45	111	—	—	—	—
Chinese	120	120	—	—	—	—	—
Portuguese	96	96	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."
— Dash indicates data not available.

406. A significant indication of the intensity of a particular cultural group's interest in preserving their ancestral traditions can be obtained by comparing the total enrolment in ethnic schools with the total number in the corresponding ethnic origin category. On this basis the Baltic cultural groups—Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians—were at the top of the list, and some of the largest ethnic origin categories, such as the Polish and Italian, were at the bottom. The Jewish cultural group had a considerably higher proportion of children in such schools than the German or Ukrainian cultural groups. The Dutch, the fourth largest ethnic origin category in the 1961 census, showed little interest

in formal, part-time education aimed at the preservation of the Dutch language.¹

407. A vast majority of part-time schools are at the elementary school level, for children from seven to 12 years of age. The remainder are for the 13 to 16 age bracket, and rarely go beyond this level.

Facilities

408. Partly because of tradition, and partly because of the private character of part-time ethnic schools, an overwhelming proportion of the classes are held on the premises of the sponsoring association, usually in a parish hall or club room. There is no definite pattern for the type and quality of classrooms. On the whole, the Jewish schools are the best equipped, and suitable premises and other facilities are also found among the Chinese, Ukrainian, and German part-time schools. As might be expected, the least suitable quarters are usually found among the smaller and more dispersed cultural groups.

Use of public
schools

409. The question of using public school buildings for part-time ethnic schools has received attention in ethnic publications, in briefs submitted to us, and at our public hearings. Public school boards were invariably criticized for their reluctance to permit use of their buildings and other facilities for part-time ethnic schools. In answer to this, school representatives have pointed out that most buildings are already overtaxed with extra-curricular activities, that opening the school to one group would inevitably lead to similar demands from other groups, and that the school budget could not bear the additional expense. However, some cultural groups in various parts of the country have made arrangements with local school authorities, and the number of part-time classes held in public school buildings by members of non-British, non-French cultural groups has been increasing. In the Toronto area, the German cultural group paid one local school board \$5,000 as yearly rental for several classrooms in three public schools and in another case, \$600 for two classrooms for one school year. In Montreal almost all part-time classes, except those sponsored by Jewish or Protestant groups, are held in schools operated by the Montreal Catholic School Commission.

School curricula

410. The average school year of the part-time schools is shorter than that of regular public schools. Most schools offer between 25 and 30 periods of instruction which result in three hours or less of instruction per week. The curricula of these schools are similar in several respects. All include such humanist subjects as literature, history, and geography. The ancestral language of the sponsoring group is the focus of the programme; indeed it is frequently the *raison d'être* of the school.

¹ No enrolment figures were obtained for Dutch schools. Other sources, including a survey of voluntary associations done for the Commission, indicate little interest among the Dutch in ethnic schools for maintaining the Dutch language. However, there is considerable interest in religious schools among those of Dutch origin.

Religious instruction given in the schools is usually under the direct control of a church, although this practice has been declining as a growing number of part-time programmes have been designed to serve students of various religious affiliations.

411. An analysis of school curricula and other school activities leads to their division into two broad but distinct types on the basis of their formal design, the number of subjects offered, and related activities. In terms of these criteria we can make a distinction between “high” and “low” ethnicity programmes. A “high” ethnicity school programme contains several subjects—literature, geography, history, the arts—distributed over three to five consecutive grades. This programme is frequently expanded to include music, dancing, folk-art, sports, scouting, and drama. These schools also issue report cards and organize graduation ceremonies and other aspects of school life. Clearly, high ethnicity school programmes aim at immersing the children in the group’s culture and are sponsored by groups determined to retain their cultural identity. They are found mainly among those of Jewish, Ukrainian, Chinese, and Greek ethnic origin.

412. The “low” ethnicity programmes consist of a few hours of conversation weekly, about the native land carried on in the mother tongue. Students are taught to read and write the language and much of the programme is left up to the individual teacher. Cultural activities, as well as other facilities available in up to date educational establishments, are often scarce or absent.

413. In general, English and French are neither taught as subjects nor employed as the language of instruction in the programmes of part-time schools. Except in the Jewish schools, English is employed only sparingly as a supplementary medium of communication for students with limited facility in the ancestral language. The French language is not taught in the part-time schools in the predominantly Anglophone provinces. In Quebec, part-time schools supported by the Catholic School Commission of Montreal offer one period of French per week to fulfil the condition for receiving the support. Recently, Jewish private schools in Quebec have made a concerted effort to include French language courses in their programmes.

Teaching of
English and
French

414. Textbooks are printed in the language of the sponsoring cultural group, and in many instances combine literature, history, and geography. The quantity, quality, and range of the subject-matter in these texts is a serious problem for part-time ethnic schools. Books are usually in short supply or on a limited range of subjects. Because the demand is insufficient to cover the cost of publishing new textbooks, older works tend to be reprinted. As a result, many of the textbooks now in use are becoming more and more out of date for educational purposes.

Textbooks

Textbooks written and published in Canada and reflecting Canadian situations are rare, although some have been issued by Polish and Ukrainian organizations. The bulk of the books used come either from the countries of origin or from the United States. Some foreign governments publish textbooks especially designed for schools abroad.

Teachers 415. In 1961 there were over 1,000 part-time or full-time teachers in ethnic schools as shown in Table 17. Schools with small enrolments tend to have higher teacher-student ratios than those with large enrolments. This tendency is partly due to the smaller schools having a greater number of teachers engaged on a temporary basis for part of a school year. Full-time teachers constitute a small percentage of the total teaching staff and are usually in schools operated by Jewish, German, and Ukrainian groups. Teachers assigned to teach ethnic subjects at full-time schools often teach in part-time classes as well.

Table 17. Teachers in Part-time Ethnic Schools

Number of teachers in part-time ethnic schools for selected ethnic origin categories, by sex—Canada, 1965

Ethnic origin	Total	Male	Female
Total	1,241	301	626
German	280	—	—
Jewish	246	79	167
Polish	142	25	117
Italian	113	48	65
Latvian	110	33	77
Ukrainian	109	38	71
Lithuanian	60	20	40
Greek	42	20	22
Hungarian	40	9	31
Estonian	34	—	—
Slovene	32	14	18
Armenian	12	6	6
Japanese	12	6	6
Portuguese	5	3	2
Chinese	4	0	4
Dutch	—	—	—

Source: Based on Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."
— Dash indicates data not available.

416. Teachers' qualifications vary widely. About half the teachers have limited training and experience or none at all. Many of the other half hold certificates from Canadian teachers' colleges and some also teach in the public schools. A relatively high proportion of the teachers

are foreign-born and acquired their professional training in their country of origin. Fluency in the language and knowledge of the culture of a particular cultural group are the main prerequisites for a teaching position. Jewish, German, and Ukrainian schools seem to have the best qualified teaching staffs. Various cultural groups try to improve the level of teacher competence in their schools by offering special seminars, summer and weekend training courses, and literature on teaching methods. Some cultural groups sponsor their teachers' attendance at colleges in the United States or Canada.

417. However, the lack of qualified teaching personnel is an acute and perennial problem even for groups with well-established schools. Groups with a long history in Canada—the Germans, Mennonites, Jews, and to an extent the Ukrainians—can rely on members of their cultural group who teach in the public schools. Some recently established cultural groups whose countries of origin are outside the Soviet orbit recruit teachers from overseas.

Lack of staff

418. Although most teachers are paid for their services, it is usually only a token payment rather than reasonable remuneration for the time and effort involved. On the average, teachers in part-time ethnic schools receive between \$4.00 and \$6.00 for each session. This scale of pay only enables them to earn from \$120 to \$180 each during the entire school year.

419. Many of the problems of part-time ethnic schools—in particular, their lack of suitable classrooms and other facilities, deficiencies in the textbooks available, and the shortage of qualified teachers—reflect the financial difficulties faced by almost all of these schools. There are two main sources of funds, fees paid by students and subsidies from sponsoring organizations. These sources usually do not provide enough money to meet the needs of the schools.

Financial problems

420. School fees are relatively low, from \$1.00 to \$5.00 per month per student; and payment may not be strictly enforced. Sometimes no fee is imposed, especially in schools with a small body of students. Often free tuition is provided for needy or promising students.

421. The sponsoring organizations or cultural groups provide support for part-time schools through regular yearly subsidies, irregular donations, or endowments. The organizations collect school funds through periodic campaigns or social events. Other sources of support for ethnic schools are sometimes found in the homeland of the sponsoring group or through its diplomatic representative in Canada.

422. Some ethnic schools operate on a sounder financial basis; their fees are much higher and the sources of funds more abundant. However, even these institutions lead a precarious financial existence and are always searching for new sources of money.

Consolidated
schools

423. Some cultural groups have tried to overcome their financial difficulties by amalgamating with other groups and developing joint school programmes. Schools of this type are now in operation in some cities. The main difficulty in developing such schools seems to be the division of the various sponsors into religious, ideological, and even generational camps, each unwilling to give up control of the school's budget or to eliminate divisive elements from their school programmes. Many cultural groups have consolidated their educational activities with those of other groups over the past decade but it appears unlikely that this process will ever be complete.

Montreal
experience

424. One solution to the financial problem of the part-time schools is the policy of subsidization adopted by the Catholic School Commission of Montreal. For the last 12 years, this body has given financial support to part-time ethnic schools for Catholic cultural groups on condition that the programme includes one period of instruction in the French language each week. The Commission provides accommodation in public school buildings, janitorial services, and pays the teachers' salaries, at a rate of \$10.00 for a period of instruction lasting about three hours. The cultural groups are responsible for forming classes, which must have about 20 students, supplying textbooks, and finding teachers (who must be approved by the Commission). The sponsoring groups must also submit reports on attendance and agree to inspection from time to time by the Commission's representative, usually a school inspector. In 1965-66, nine cultural groups participated in the programme; 4,600 students were enrolled; and there were 173 teachers in 189 classes, usually held on Saturday mornings. The cost of the programme to the Commission was \$71,000. The obligation to devote part of the short weekly session to French, which means recruiting teachers able and willing to teach French, is considered onerous by some cultural groups and has sometimes been only perfunctorily fulfilled. The Commission has taken action to improve the French instruction, in one case by supplying the textbooks for the teaching of French, in another by increasing the amount of time to be allotted to French and assuming control of the appointment of teachers of French. On the whole the programme has been successful. It is one factor in the relatively high enrolment in part-time ethnic schools in Montreal, and it demonstrates that with some support from the public system, these schools are viable institutions.

425. We endorse this approach. Part-time ethnic schools have played an important part in the maintenance of languages and cultures. Support from local authorities, where it is possible, is the most appropriate form of assistance because of the variety of situations and factors that must be considered. It is encouraging that local arrangements have proven

possible and successful, and we do not feel recommendations for action by either the provincial or federal levels of government are warranted.

2. Full-time schools

426. Private ethnic full-time schools offer a dual programme. Their students follow the regular curriculum of the province in which the school is located, and in addition a programme of linguistic, religious, and cultural courses. They are subject to inspection by educational representatives of the provinces, and their grades and diplomas are recognized by the provincial departments of education.

427. There are ethnic full-time schools in all the provinces except the Atlantic Provinces, and their total enrolment is close to 9,000. The Mennonites and the Jewish, Ukrainian, and Greek cultural groups operate such schools. The Mennonite religious community, approximately 150,000 strong, is one of the major supporters of full-time schools. It operates ten schools at the high school level with a total enrolment of about 1,300 students, and six Bible schools with an enrolment of about 400. There are also about 400 students in three Bible colleges primarily concerned with training prospective ministers and missionaries. In all, Mennonite communities across Canada operate 19 educational institutions at the secondary and college levels.

428. Most Jewish schools are at the elementary level. It has been estimated that approximately 4,500 students are enrolled in 26 Jewish full-time schools, 13 of them in Montreal. Some are maintained by local congregations, ranging from ultra-orthodox to reform in their religious practices. Others are run by lay bodies, and the teaching in these schools tends to stress the history and culture of the Jewish people.

Jewish schools

429. Like the Mennonites, the Ukrainians have concentrated their efforts mostly at the secondary level. Their schools have been organized and maintained mainly by the two Ukrainian national churches. In the Prairie Provinces, the Ukrainian Catholic Church operates at least five full-time schools with about 2,000 students. The Greek group is the latest to establish a full-time school; in 1963 it opened an elementary school in Montreal, now attended by approximately 500 students. Other groups that once maintained such schools have closed them. Whether the total enrolment in full-time ethnic schools has declined is difficult to estimate, since the number and size of the schools operated by the active groups have been growing.

Ukrainian, Greek,
and other schools

430. The distinctive feature of a private ethnic full-time school is that it brings together children of the same cultural group not only to study but also to engage in recreational activities. The children attending full-time schools also participate as a body in ceremonial

Distinctive
features

events within the cultural group and represent it in ceremonies in the community. They are often spoken of and addressed as future leaders of their cultural group. The segregation of the children from children of other cultural groups, and the emphasis on their potential for leadership, seem designed to reinforce their sense of ethnic identity and their loyalty to the group's values.

431. The formal ethnic programmes of these schools are usually provided for by a slight extension of school hours. The programme may be spread over more grades and more days of the week than in the part-time school because teachers and classrooms are always available. However, full-time schools are not necessarily more effective than part-time schools in maintaining a cultural group's language and culture. Research in the United States resulted in the conclusion that "by every available index the All Day School is far less embedded in ethnicity and, therefore, far less concerned with language maintenance than any other type of ethnically affiliated school."¹

432. Like other private schools, ethnic full-time schools are usually unable to provide as elaborate facilities and equipment as the public schools, or as wide a range of subjects and programmes. In part this is a matter of size and organization; in part it is a matter of funds. It raises the question of whether or not these schools prepare their students as well as the public schools for full participation in Canadian society.

Financial
difficulties

433. The tuition fee at full-time schools is usually \$200 or \$300 a year. Scholarships are frequently offered in order to maintain enrolment and attract outstanding students. If the schools are residential, free room and board are also offered in some cases.

434. The financial burden involved in the running of a full-time school is probably the major deterrent to the proliferation of such schools. The cost of building and maintaining schools is high and it is increasing rapidly. So are the costs of facilities and supplies and of teaching and supervisory staff. Churches have been the initiators and main supporters of full-time schools, but they have had to make heavy demands upon the whole cultural group for the funds required. The existence of such schools seems to be precarious, except within the Jewish community. Only in the Province of Quebec do ethnic private full-time schools receive provincial support.

Future prospects

435. In the future the financial burden may become an insurmountable problem for ethnic full-time schools, as the costs of providing an education adequate for full participation in modern society continue to increase. If they must compete with other schools for students, they are likely to do so by weakening the ethnic component in their programmes.

¹ Fishman and Nahirny, "The Ethnic Group School and Mother Tongue Maintenance," 95.

In the United States research indicates that such schools are tending to discontinue instruction in the mother tongue and to enroll ethnically "inappropriate" students.¹ If such schools raise their fees, they are likely to base their enrolment on economic factors rather than cultural origin. The grave concern of some of the Canadian ethnic full-time schools about funds, even at a time of heavy immigration and general affluence, seems to indicate pressures that may lead them in this same direction.

436. We have considered with care the proposal made in briefs that public financial support be provided for these schools but reject it because there are serious difficulties. These include the present heavy demands on all our educational resources, the need to provide all children with equal opportunities in terms of programmes and services, the practical problems of teachers, textbooks, and space, and the question of public control over educational facilities supported by public funds. Our research and analysis lead us to conclude that even with some public aid, the smaller cultural groups could not afford to support a separate network of full-time schools that could maintain standards and facilities comparable to the public system, particularly in the range of their curriculum and special services. There is also a danger that the public school system would suffer in many communities if several cultural groups were to set up their own schools supported by taxes; the size of the constituency supporting the public schools would be reduced while at the same time the new full-time schools would not have open enrolment. We do not consider this potential impairment of the public system acceptable; the result could be detrimental to all children concerned.

437. As with part-time ethnic schools, local arrangements seem the most appropriate form of support. Private ethnic schools should receive the same treatment from provincial educational authorities as other private schools. We have no recommendations to make concerning these schools although we feel it important to record the part they play in the maintenance of the languages and cultures of those of other than British or French ethnic origin.

C. Colleges and Universities

1. The teaching of modern languages

438. In 1965-66, as Table 18 shows, 27 different modern languages other than English and French were taught at one or more of 36 Canadian universities and colleges. German, Spanish, or Russian were taught at many institutions; 13 taught Italian, seven Ukrainian, and six Polish.

¹ *Ibid.*, 100.

Languages offered 439. A number of the languages currently spoken in Canada were not offered at any of the universities or colleges studied; these included Swedish, Danish, Finnish, Estonian, Hungarian, and Dutch. No university or college taught any of the Eskimo tongues, and of the native Indian languages only Cree was offered as a subject for linguistic analysis, at the University of Alberta.

Table 18. Modern Language Courses

Courses in modern languages other than English and French offered in 36 universities and colleges—Canada, 1965-66

Universities and colleges	Total	Romance languages				Slavic languages					Germanic languages			Other European languages		Asiatic languages										Other languages				
		Catalan	Italian	Portuguese	Spanish	Czech	Polish	Russian	Serbo-Croat	Slovak	Ukrainian	German	Icelandic	Norwegian	Gaelic	Modern Greek	Yiddish	Arabic	Chinese	Japanese	Malay	Pali	Persian	Sanskrit	Tibetan	Turkish	Urdu	Cree		
Total		1	13	3	33	1	6	23	2	1	7	34	1	1	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1		
Acadia	1											x																		
Alberta	8		x		x		x	x		x		x		x																x
Bishop's	3				x			x				x																		
British Columbia	8		x	x	x			x	x			x							x	x										
Carleton	3				x				x			x																		
Dalhousie	4				x			x				x						x												
Laurentian	4		x		x			x				x																		
Laval	5		x	x	x			x				x																		
Loyola	2				x							x																		
McGill	10		x		x			x				x				x		x		x			x				x	x		
McMaster	4		x		x			x				x																		
Manitoba	6						x	x			x	x	x				x													
Marianopolis	2				x							x																		
Memorial	3							x				x																		
Moncton	2				x							x																		
Montreal	9		x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x																		
Mount Allison	2				x							x																		
Mount St. Vincent	1				x																									
New Brunswick	3				x	x						x																		
Notre Dame	2				x							x																		
Ottawa	6				x	x		x	x		x	x																		
Queen's	4				x	x			x			x																		
R. M. C. (Kingston)	1											x																		
Saskatchewan	6				x			x			x	x												x	x					
Sir George Williams	3				x			x				x																		
St. Dunstan's	1				x																									
St. Francis Xavier	4				x			x				x				x														
St. Mary's	2				x							x																		
St. Patrick's	2				x							x																		
Toronto	17	x	x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x						x	x	x		x	x	x		x	x			
Trent	2				x							x																		
Victoria	3				x			x				x																		
Waterloo	4				x			x			x	x																		
Western Ontario	4		x		x			x				x																		
Windsor	4		x		x			x				x																		
York	3				x			x				x																		

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

440. There is some correlation between ethnic concentrations and the language programmes offered by local colleges or universities. At the University of Manitoba an honours programme in Icelandic, originally endowed with \$250,000 by the Icelandic community, offered ten courses. The University of Manitoba also offered two courses in Yiddish and Hebrew through an endowment from the Jewish community. In Alberta, where there is a concentration of people of Scandinavian origin, courses in Norwegian are available. However, it appears that the total enrolment in various language classes owes more to the prestige of the language than to an interest on the part of the students in maintaining their ancestral languages.

441. One factor influencing the development of language courses at universities is the entrance requirements regarding languages, including how many languages are required. Entrance requirements are changing rapidly with changes in the high schools and with the establishment of new universities. Credits in modern languages are generally not demanded for entrance into faculties of engineering or applied science, although they may be used to fill one of the optional requirements and although students in honours courses normally must pass a reading examination in a language useful in their research. Credits in modern languages usually are required for entry into other faculties of arts and science at most, although not all, Canadian universities. The requirements for 23 English-language universities in 1965-66 are listed in Table 19. The French-language universities had no specific language entrance requirement, because a knowledge of English was assumed.

Entrance
requirements

442. It should be noted that, although some universities accept any approved language for credit on entering the institution, the vast majority of students in fact present English, French, German, or Spanish. The right to offer any modern language for entrance credit is rarely utilized, partly because of the absence of a wide range of language courses in high school. In the three Prairie Provinces, the option of presenting Ukrainian as an entrance credit at local colleges and universities encourages students to enroll in high school courses in the language, although to date it has not encouraged large numbers of students to continue their study of the Ukrainian language at university.

443. Many universities will have changed their entrance requirements since our survey, but because these entrance requirements exert a considerable influence on the choice of languages by students at the secondary level, and we feel they have been and may still be unduly restrictive in certain cases, therefore, **we recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and for degrees.** This action would serve the interests of

Recommendation 6

students and would also mean that Canada could gain greater advantage from the languages currently spoken here. It would be particularly appropriate for universities situated in areas where the languages in question are spoken by substantial numbers of people.

Table 19. Language Admission Requirements

Number of modern languages required or optional for admission to the faculties of arts and science of 23 universities and colleges—Canada, 1965–66

Universities and colleges	Arts		Science
	Number of compulsory languages	Number of optional languages ¹	Number of compulsory languages
Acadia	1*	1	1*
Alberta	1†	1	1†
Bishop's	1‡	3	
Carleton	1*	1	1*
British Columbia	1*	2	1*
Dalhousie		1**	
Loyola	1††	1	1††
McGill	1*	1	1*
McMaster	1†	2	1†
Manitoba	1†	1	1†
Mount Allison	1*	2	1*
Ottawa	2††	1	1††
Queen's	1*	2	1*
Saskatchewan	1*	1	1*
St. Dunstan's	1*		1*
St. Francis Xavier	1*	1	1*
St. Mary's	1*	1	1*
Toronto	1†	1	1†
Trent		3	
Waterloo	1*	1	
Western Ontario		1	
Windsor	1†	2	1†
York	1*	2	1*

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

¹ Number of modern languages student may present for credit.

* At the student's choice, with approval.

† Must be one of a specified list.

‡ French is required for students from Quebec.

** French or German is required.

†† French is required.

444. As language teaching at the elementary and secondary school levels is improved the language capabilities of future university students will also improve. Colleges and universities should study the possibility of expanding their curricula in the fields of the humanities, particularly languages and literature, and the social sciences, to take advantage of the linguistic potential of their students.

2. Area study programmes

445. When a university or college offers courses in languages other than the two official languages, it may do so as part of an area study programme. Such programmes consist of courses and research projects all related to a clearly defined area of the world, and emphasizing not only languages but also other fields in the humanities and social sciences, such as anthropology, economics, geography, history, linguistics, literature, philosophy, political science, and sociology. The area under study may be a specific country, or a region. There appears to be little relationship between the areas of the world singled out for study at Canadian universities and the areas from which large numbers of the Canadian population of other than British or French origin have originally come. The programmes are generally not specifically concerned with the maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritages of those represented in our population.

a. Soviet and Eastern European studies

446. A survey of university calendars for 1965-66 indicated that the emphasis in area study programmes was then focussed almost entirely on Russian and Slavic studies, both at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Ten Canadian universities offered undergraduate programmes in this field with the subject matter of the courses offered spread widely throughout the humanities and social sciences and including a variety of language courses.

447. Programmes offered at the graduate level were generally closely related to undergraduate courses. For example, the University of British Columbia offered a master's degree in Slavic studies with seminars covering the same general areas as its undergraduate courses. Master of arts programmes in Slavic languages and literature were widely available. McMaster University had a programme devoted entirely to the Russian language and literature. The degree of doctor of philosophy was offered at the University of Ottawa and the University of Toronto, with the emphasis almost exclusively on language (plus linguistics and philology) and literature. A similar doctorate was also awarded at the University of Montreal until 1965 when the course was changed to

Slavic studies

Table 20. Soviet and East European Studies

Number of courses in Soviet and East European studies offered at selected Canadian universities—Canada, 1965–66

Subjects	Alberta	British Columbia	Carleton	McGill	Manitoba	Montreal	Ottawa	Saskatchewan	Toronto (undergraduate) ¹	Toronto (graduate)	Total
Russian literature	9	7	6	8	4	5	25	5	8	8	85
Russian language ²	9	7	4	9	4	9	25*	5	6	3	81
Ukrainian literature	5				2	1	15	2		2	27
Ukrainian language	7				4	1	7	2	3		24
East European history	2-H†	4	1-H	2-H	1-H		6½		1-H		17½
Polish language	3	2	1‡		3	1	3	1	3		17
Russian history	3-H	3	1-H	1-H	1-H		4	1-H	2-H	1-H	17
Polish literature	1	2			1	2	8			2	16
Russian geography	1-G	1	1-G	1-G	1	½-G	1-G	1-G	1-G	1-G	9½
Russian economy	2-E		2-E	1-E				1-E	1-E	1-E	8
Russian politics	2-P	1-P	1-P	½-P			1-P		1-P	1-P	7½
Marxist philosophy	1-P	1	½-P	½-P				1-P	1-P	1-P	6
Russian culture and philosophy				1			1	2	1		5
Serbo-Croat language			1‡			1			3		5
East European culture and philosophy		1					1½				2½
Russian foreign policy		1-P	1-P								2
Serbo-Croat literature						2					2
East European geography				1-G		½-G					1½
East European economies	1-E										1
East European politics	1-P										1
East European relations		1									1
Czech literature						½					½
Slovak literature						½					½
Total	47	31	19½	25	21	24	98	21	31	20	337½

Source: Krukowski and McKellar, "The Other Ethnic Groups and Education."

¹ Except for the University of Toronto, no distinction is made between undergraduate and graduate courses.

² Language courses include grammar, composition, and other aspects of linguistics.

* Includes five courses in Slavic philology and linguistics.

† As many area study programmes are interdepartmental, courses available to area study students but given within a department are indicated as follows: H-history, P-political science; E-economics; G-geography.

‡ A requirement for students selecting intensive study on Poland and Yugoslavia, not regularly offered and non-credit.

conclude with the *diplôme d'études supérieures*. The University of Toronto also permitted a minor concentration in Polish, Ukrainian, or a Serbo-Croat language. Although there is no area study programme as such at the University of Alberta, it was possible to take a doctorate in political science or history with specialization in the area of Eastern Europe or the U.S.S.R.

448. Table 20 is a summary of the courses in Soviet and East European studies available in 1965-66. Language and literature courses dominated at most universities. Only the Russian language was offered by all the Canadian universities having Slavic area study programmes. A minimum of four and an average of more than six Russian courses were available at each of these universities. Ukrainian was taught mainly on the prairies. Although Polish language courses were available at more universities than Ukrainian, usually only one course was offered in Polish and nowhere were there more than three; even fewer courses were provided in Polish literature.

Courses
available

449. The University of Montreal was the only French language institution offering a formal programme in Soviet or East European studies, and no institution in the Atlantic Provinces offered a programme in this area, although the Russian language was taught at Dalhousie University.

450. Several specific factors seem to influence the existence of Soviet or Slavic study programmes. The size of an institution is important as well as the availability of source materials. The University of Toronto and the University of British Columbia offer a wide variety of courses in many subjects because of their size and resources; work on Eastern Europe is only one segment of this, although an important one. Course offerings also depend upon the presence of qualified professors. To a considerable extent the arrival of university-educated immigrants to Canada since 1945 has stimulated Soviet and Slavic studies. The position of the U.S.S.R. in the world today is unquestionably another powerful stimulant to Slavic studies in Canada.

b. Far Eastern studies

451. Studies of the Far East were restricted to a very few institutions in 1965-66. The University of Toronto had separate graduate and undergraduate programmes. A student could specialize in either Japanese or Chinese, which included classical Chinese and modern Mandarin. There were also courses on the literature of China and Japan, East Asian fine arts, the history of Asia and its major constituent nations, Asian philosophies, East and South Asian archaeology, and Pali and Sanskrit language and literature. The master of arts degree programme consisted of language, literature, and philosophy.

452. The University of British Columbia's bachelor of arts course in Asian studies began with courses in modern Chinese and Japanese for two years, then classical Chinese. No other languages were offered. In addition to literature, philosophy, fine arts, and history courses, courses in Asian international relations were available. These same

subject areas were also available in the graduate programme leading to the degree of master of arts. A department of Far Eastern studies has existed at Saskatchewan since 1964, but the courses offered were limited.

c. Other eastern studies

453. In 1965-66, language and literature courses were also offered in Arabic, Malay (Indonesian), Persian, Turkish, and Urdu. Courses and seminars encompassed a variety of subjects and were divided according to region, rather than discipline. McGill University was explicitly concerned with the economic development of the Muslim nations, and graduate work could be carried out in the departments of political science, history, economics, and philosophy, oriented toward problems of the Near East, in conjunction with the Institute of Islamic Studies. McGill's programme, founded in 1952, operated at the graduate level only. Doctoral candidates were required to have two years residence in the Muslim world.

454. At the University of Toronto, honours bachelor of arts, masters, and doctoral degrees were available in Islamic as well as ancient Near Eastern studies. Except for three interdepartmental courses each split among history, geography, and culture, the undergraduate programme at Toronto dealt exclusively with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish language and literature. Graduate courses included area studies of Islam in North Africa and Spain, Islamic philosophy, the history of Muslim civilization and Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu language and literature. Sanskrit and Pali were taught in the Far Eastern studies department; political and economic issues of Muslim India and Pakistan were also dealt with.

d. Other programmes

455. In 1965 the University of Toronto initiated a Latin American studies department, joining Laval University, the pioneer in this field. In 1965-66 only 13 and 12 courses were offered at Toronto and Laval respectively so neither programme could be regarded as intensive.

456. In Nova Scotia, St. Francis Xavier University conducted a Celtic studies programme with four courses in Gaelic language and literature and two in history. The honours Icelandic degree at the University of Manitoba was purely literary and linguistic. Acadia University sponsored three West Indian studies courses within its political science department. There was a single course in Hungarian and Estonian literature within the graduate programme at the University of Montreal, for which competence in these languages was a prerequisite and which was not given every year.

457. No Canadian university had formal area studies dealing with Western Europe or any country within it, such as France, Germany, or Italy. However, most courses in the humanities and social sciences dealt with Western Europe or its constituent countries. Regulations regarding the selection of courses might permit an individual to work out a specialized programme concentrating on one or more Western European countries.

3. Expanding university programmes

458. We have indicated above that we feel universities should study the possibility of expanding their curricula in the fields of the humanities, particularly languages and literature, and social sciences relating to particular areas. Much of this expansion could take place through area study programmes. These programmes would serve the national interest and facilitate Canada's international role. Such programmes are complex and costly; they should probably be concentrated in relatively few universities, where high standards could be achieved with the resources available. There are many factors to be considered in determining which university should institute a particular programme. One important factor might well be a concentration of people, in the region where the university is located, whose ethnic origin corresponds to the area of study. We feel that this question should be studied at once by the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, or by another inter-university body, in the interest of the most effective utilization of educational resources. Therefore, **we recommend that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages.**

Recommendation 7

4. Ethnic colleges and universities

459. We considered the case for a separate, federated university in western Canada, made up of ethnically-based colleges, such as a Ukrainian college and a German college. We concluded that we could make no recommendation concerning the creation of such an institution. We note the formation of colleges serving particular cultural groups and employing the languages of those groups in addition to English, French, or both the official languages. For example, in Manitoba a Ukrainian Orthodox college (St. Andrew's) is part of the University of Manitoba; a Ukrainian Catholic college (St. Vladimir's) intends to become a degree-granting institution; and a research institute (the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences) has an adult education programme in Ukrainian studies. Such institutions could form a federated

university and they should be free to do so. Probably, for both academic and financial reasons, they would prefer to be part of one of the larger, existing universities.

D. Adult Education

460. Various cultural groups in Canada carry out programmes in the field of adult, or continuing, education. In Book II we pointed out that "the term continuing education at the present time is poorly defined, encompassing as it does a complex and widely differing range of agencies and programmes" and noted the need for "a thorough study of the desirable organization and structures required to encourage discussion and further study among adults on Canadian affairs. . . ." ¹ This remains true, but adult education is of special importance in the context of this Book. Programmes conducted by the non-British, non-French cultural groups can play an important part in maintaining the cultural heritage of these groups.

Aims of courses

461. In many cases the existing programmes consist of courses on different cultures where the appropriate language is used as the language of instruction. Although varying quantitatively and qualitatively from group to group, their main objective is to raise the standard of education and knowledge of the group's members. Some are refresher courses; some are classes designed to up-date specialized advanced study; some are forums for the consideration of questions of daily life. Some inform group members about current cultural affairs or about the results of recent research on a particular culture. Some are courses in the language, literature, or history of a particular cultural group.

462. Although the Commission did not undertake a survey of such programmes, there are a number of institutions which offer these types of courses such as the Polish Research Institutes in Montreal and Toronto, and the B'nai B'rith Foundation in larger centres; German cultural and educational organizations, such as Goethe Houses, the Ukrainian Prosvita Institutes, and Italian societies such as the Dante Alighieri groups. In 1966 the Polish Canadian Research Institute in Toronto organized a cycle of lectures "in order to acquaint the Polish society with the Problems that are dealt with by the Institute, and to bring the individuals interested in the activities of the Institute into contact with it. . . . Subjects of the lectures are within the orbit of the Institute's interests." ² The Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in Winnipeg in 1968-69 offered adult education courses in Ukrainian language,

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, II, § 789.

² T. Krychowski, *The Polish Canadian Research Institute: Its Aims and Achievements* (Toronto, 1967), 6-7.

literature, and history. Various Mennonite schools in Canada are involved in adult education for the German cultural group. These lectures and programmes are geared to the level of education of the adult members of the relevant cultural group. They supplement the work of extension divisions of universities and school boards, which usually offer extension programmes in adult education in either English or French.

463. Programmes in the field of adult, or continuing, education for members of the non-British, non-French cultural groups emphasize particular cultures and languages. They play an important role in emphasizing the contribution made by these cultural groups in Canada, and thus contribute to the country as a whole. We feel, therefore, that they merit the interest and support of such educational authorities as the extension departments of school boards in relation to informational programmes and the Citizenship Branch in regard to cultural programmes. Such support could include assistance in providing suitable premises for courses and educational facilities such as materials and audio-visual aids.

464. Finally, we feel it most important that the special dimension of programmes in various cultures and languages other than English and French be carefully considered whenever continuing education is studied or planned. When the thorough study of continuing education suggested in Book II is undertaken, the special contribution and needs of the non-British, non-French cultural groups should be given particular attention.

465. Like the public schools, the press, radio, television, and films, often referred to as the mass media, are generally thought of as tending to dissolve cultural differences. However, they can also be used to support and maintain a group's culture and identity and to gain recognition of the contribution of different cultural groups by society at large. Two aspects of the media of communication are of interest to us here.¹ The first is the two-way communication between a group and society at large. The media provide members of all cultural groups with information about Canada; they express Canadian beliefs, values, and customs and portray the Canadian way of life. They may also provide information about the beliefs, values, and customs of different cultural groups to Canadian society as a whole. The second aspect of the role of mass media is communication within a cultural group. Mass media may transmit news of the homeland and the group's activities, and may provide information and opinion about life in Canada. Access to such information in their own languages is of great importance to immigrants, particularly those who have not acquired skill in either English or French. It is less vital to Canadian-born members of non-British, non-French cultural groups.

A. The Ethnic Press

466. The role of the ethnic press is of intense concern to spokesmen for cultural groups other than the British and French in Canada. Many ethnic publications have a long history; there is no sizable

¹ This chapter is only concerned with the media as they relate to cultural groups other than the British and French. English- and French-language newspapers, radio, and television will be discussed in the section of our *Report* dealing with the mass media.

cultural group in Canada today that does not have at least one publication devoted to its interests, and most groups have several.

Extent of
discussion

467. Our discussion here is limited to the ethnic press, although it would also be valuable to examine the treatment of cultural groups other than the British and French in the general press, and the extent to which the general press is read by members of such groups. This topic certainly warrants research. The term ethnic press as used here includes all private publications designed to appeal to cultural groups other than the British and French.¹ These need not be in a language other than English or French; what matters is their content and readers. Only regular publications are considered. Publications originating outside Canada are not included although their omission may create an inaccurate impression as to which publications influence the various cultural groups. Two types of publications originating in other countries should be kept in mind although they are not included in this study. One is what could be called the exile or *émigré* press, which is politically motivated. *Freie Press Korrespondenz*, a Ukrainian publication originating in Munich, to which many Canadian ethnic press editors subscribe, and *Exil et Liberté*, the organ of a group of Russian political exiles published in Paris, are two examples. The other type is general publications issued by the countries of origin of Canada's different cultural groups. These may or may not be politically oriented and may or may not be inspired by the government of the originating country. The United States is another important source of foreign publications of interest to Canada's other cultural groups. For example, no daily newspapers in Ukrainian are published in Canada but anyone wishing to read such a publication can subscribe to an American one. Since neither the ethnic origin nor the number of Canadian readers of foreign-based publications is known, it is impossible to attempt even an approximate estimate of their influence here.

1. Historical background

468. It is extremely difficult to trace the history of the ethnic press in Canada. There have undoubtedly been ethnic publications that have disappeared completely; there are others whose existence is known only through brief references in local histories.

Early
publications

469. The earliest ethnic periodicals published in Canada seem to be two German weeklies, the *Kanada Museum und Allgemeine Zeitung*, established in New Berlin (Kitchener), Ontario, in 1822 and the *Neuschottlaendische Calendar*, begun in 1787. The oldest ethnic periodical still publishing is the Icelandic-Canadian *Heimskringla*, established in 1886. In 1959 it amalgamated with another Icelandic paper, the

¹ The word "private" is used to exclude publications issued by government agencies.

Lögberg, founded in 1888, and the two are issued today under their combined name. In 1892, the first year for which there is a record, there were 18 ethnic periodicals published in Canada, in German, Icelandic, and Swedish. The *Jewish Times* was established in Montreal in 1897. The first Slavic periodicals, the Ukrainian-language *Kanadiyskyi Farmer* and the Polish-language *Glos Kanadyjski*, appeared in Winnipeg in 1904. The first Chinese-language paper, the *Chinese Times*, appeared in Vancouver in 1907.

470. The ethnic press has shown a constant increase during this century. There were two Slavic publications in 1905; in 1965 there were 54, 33 of them Ukrainian.¹ The Romance language groups had only two Italian publications in 1911; by 1965 they had a total of 14, 11 Italian and three Portuguese. Before World War I the publications of the German group outnumbered those of the Slavic group by roughly 12 to one and most of them were in the German language.² The Scandinavian group also had a few periodicals. The Dutch ethnic press did not appear until the 1950's when a dozen periodicals were founded. Publications in languages that do not fall within the main groups of Germanic, Slavic, or Romance languages have shown a variable rate of growth, although taken together they rose from eight in 1911 to 57 in 1965. Many of these publications belong to cultural groups, such as the Lithuanian, that did not have a press in Canada prior to World War II. The total ethnic press in Canada in 1965 included 155 publications.

Rates of growth

471. The number of periodicals does not necessarily indicate the interest that the members of a group have in their ethnic press. The number of German periodicals decreased sharply between 1911 and 1921, for example, but there was not an equal decline in their total circulation, which suggests that a process of amalgamation was occurring.

472. Census figures show that there has been some correlation between the size of an ethnic origin category and the number of publications directed toward it. Certainly the strong upsurge in the number of publications during the 1950's was due in some measure to the great wave of immigration after 1945. It appears that the life-span of ethnic publications is dependent on immigration, because the high level of language loss among the native born tends to reduce a publication's potential clientele. A study of the Polish ethnic press in Canada noted that, despite efforts to maintain the Polish language,

¹ Most of the data in this section is drawn from Robert F. Adie, "The Ethnic Press," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B. in 1965-66, with the cooperation of the Ethnic Press Section of the Citizenship Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

² See Appendix II, Table A-148. The linguistic classifications used here are those outlined by Commissioner J. B. Rudnyckyj, in his Separate Statement, *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, 1, 156-7.

Canadian-born children are generally not familiar enough with the language to support a Polish-language newspaper. The study concluded that Polish newspapers published in Canada are read almost exclusively by immigrants, and that this is also true of most other ethnic publications.¹ This conclusion is substantiated by the ratio of immigration to circulation. There is a fairly strong correlation between immigration in a particular ethnic origin category and the increase in circulation of ethnic publications in the corresponding language.² However, the number of immigrants does not alone determine either the number of publications a cultural group supports or the rate of increase of circulation.

Religious
affiliations

473. There is some indication that the earlier publications reflected the religious affiliations of the various cultural groups to a much greater extent than is now true. Thus a preponderant number of the early German publications could be considered religious publications.³ Research shows that the early Polish press in Canada was also very concerned with religious matters and that often the publications were church sponsored. However, there is evidently no serious Polish religious press today.⁴

474. Not all early ethnic periodicals were primarily concerned with religious topics. The Icelandic press was relatively free from religious orientation and was devoted to literary pursuits. Even the German and Polish papers published in Canada were not solely concerned with religion, and some dealt with the topic only occasionally.

Sponsoring
organizations

475. When an early publication was not a church publication it was usually the official publication of a secular ethnic association which often meant that the press had to conform to the views of the sponsoring organization. This dependence often led to heated controversies, both ideological and personal. The history of relations between ethnic associations and the press reveals a continued tendency among editors and publishers to seek independence from their sponsoring associations, especially since World War II.⁵

2. Types of publications and circulation

476. Most ethnic publications appeared either weekly or monthly. In 1965, there were six dailies, 10 semi-weeklies, 65 weeklies, 15 semi-

¹ Victor Turek, *The Polish-Language Press in Canada: Its History and a Biographical Sketch* (Toronto, 1962), 33.

² See Appendix II, Tables A-148 and A-149.

³ Carl Wittke, *The German Language Press in America* (Lexington, Kentucky, 1957), 175, notes that the first religious periodical published in the United States in the German language was established in 1764, and that from then on almost every German religious or church group has had a publication at some time.

⁴ Turek, *The Polish-Language Press in Canada*, 59.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 51.

monthlies, 51 monthlies, and eight quarterlies, semi-annuals, and annuals. Thus, about 90 per cent of ethnic publications were weeklies, semi-monthlies, or monthlies.

477. Weeklies and monthlies also dominated in terms of circulation. The weeklies had a total circulation of approximately 461,000 copies per week. Most had a circulation of about 3,000 copies, but a few had higher circulations. The largest was reported by *Il Corriere Italiano* (Montreal), which printed 36,500 copies per issue. It was followed by *Il Cittadino Canadese* (Montreal, with 24,000), *Ukrainsky Holos* (Winnipeg, 16,000), and *Der Courier* (Winnipeg, 15,000).

478. The total circulation of the ethnic monthlies and semi-monthlies was considerably smaller, about 148,000 in all. The monthly with the largest circulation was the *German Canadian Business Review*, which sold approximately 18,000 copies per month. Publications appearing semi-weekly had a total circulation of 40,000 copies and the quarterlies 27,000 copies.

479. Only the Chinese and Jewish cultural groups published daily papers. Each of the four Chinese dailies sold about 5,000 copies. For the Jewish group, *Der Yiddisher Journal* of Toronto and *Der Kanader Adler* of Montreal, had between them a combined circulation of 30,000 copies until *Der Kanader Adler* ceased publication in 1967.

480. It is only possible to speculate about why these two groups have dailies while other groups do not. The Chinese group tends to be concentrated heavily in British Columbia, and this concentration might be one factor, but it is not the only one. The question remains largely unanswered and needs further research.

3. Geographic distribution

481. The number of publications originating in eastern Canada has risen sharply during the last few decades. This corresponds only in part to the shift in location of the immigrant population during the post-war period, and to the appearance of new cultural groups such as the Lithuanian and Portuguese. In 1965, the greatest number of ethnic periodicals was published in Ontario, followed in descending order by the Prairie Provinces, Quebec, and British Columbia. No ethnic periodicals were published east of Montreal.

482. The publications originating in each province reflected the ethnic concentrations in that region. For example, the publications in British Columbia were directed to very few cultural groups, half to the Chinese and Japanese. In the prairies, almost 50 per cent of all the publications were directed to the Ukrainian cultural group and 25 per cent to the German. Four of the five Greek publications

Regional
concentrations

originated in Montreal, as did six of the Jewish and four of the Italian ones. The publications of these three groups accounted for approximately 70 per cent of Quebec's ethnic press.

483. Ontario's ethnic press was particularly large but was rarely proportionate to the province's population of a particular ethnic origin category. For example, in 1961, 38 per cent of all those giving German as their ethnic origin lived in Ontario and the same figure applied to those of Jewish origin, but only 23 per cent of the German publications and 27 per cent of the Jewish ones originated in Ontario. At the same time, only 44 per cent of all those claiming Dutch origin and 27 per cent of those reporting Ukrainian origin lived in Ontario, yet 90 per cent of the Dutch and 48 per cent of the Ukrainian publications originated there. The same disproportionately large percentages applied to Polish, Scandinavian, Hungarian, and Finnish publications. Many of Ontario's ethnic publications had nation-wide circulation while most of the ethnic periodicals of the other provinces were distributed almost entirely within that province. This suggests that the Ontario ethnic press was influential in shaping the attitudes and opinions of many cultural groups.

4. Number of publications

484. It is difficult to measure the strength of the ethnic press in each of the various cultural groups. Ukrainian publications are the most numerous; in 1965 there were 33 of them, 21 per cent of the total number of ethnic publications. Jewish, German, and Italian publications were next in size, in that order. However, when the number of publications is related to the population of a particular ethnic origin category, the Lithuanian press, with five periodicals for 28,000 group members, had the highest ratio, followed in order by the Chinese, Hungarian, and Ukrainian presses. The German press had the lowest ratio, serving the largest ethnic origin category in Canada, after the British and French. When the circulation rate was related to the number of persons in the corresponding ethnic origin category, the Estonian, Jewish, Lithuanian, Hungarian, and Chinese ethnic papers were highest. Comparisons on the basis of those reporting a particular mother tongue as distinct from those reporting the corresponding ethnic origin showed an essentially similar pattern with some notable variations. On this basis the Lithuanian, Estonian, Hungarian, Icelandic, and Chinese ethnic presses led.

485. It is very difficult to assess the relative strength of the ethnic press among the various cultural groups: the feeling of cultural distinctiveness, the percentage of immigrants in the group, immigrant concen-

trations, the language retention rate among the native born, educational standards and aspirations, and occupational differences all contribute to its relative strength in any particular group.

5. *Language patterns*

486. Approximately 80 per cent of all ethnic publications in Canada were printed in a language other than English or French. Another 10 per cent were printed in English and the remaining 10 per cent partly in English or French and partly in another language. Only the *Bulletin du cercle juif* of Montreal appeared entirely in French.

487. The 10 per cent which published in a mixture of French, English, and another language included only those that adhered to a consistent bilingual policy, because most papers printed an occasional article in one of the two official languages. In 1965, this mixed category included five Ukrainian, three Jewish, and all the three Japanese publications, as well as one each of the German, Swedish, and Danish publications. Most of these were monthlies, and one was a quarterly, so it would appear that these publications were directed to smaller and possibly more exclusive sub-sections of ethnic groups.

Bilingual
publications

488. There were seven Jewish and three Ukrainian ethnic publications in English, as well as one Chinese, one German, one Dutch, and one Icelandic. They were all issued less frequently than those in other languages, and seemed, like the bilingual publications, to be tailored to the requirements of small sub-sections of the groups. These publications tended to be devoted to cultural, religious, and professional topics, rather than to general events.

English
publications

489. The reason for publishing an ethnic periodical in English seemed to be to communicate with members of the cultural group who no longer read their ancestral language, or who prefer English. There was a particular tendency to publish sports news, children and youth sections, and editorials on Canadian topics.

490. The use of English to maintain or increase circulation appears unsuccessful. In fact, in most instances, it actually resulted in a decline in circulation; immigrants are unable to profit from these articles while the Canadian born probably prefer to read large English-language dailies.

6. *Developments since 1958*

491. One of the most significant developments in the organization of Canada's ethnic press was the founding in 1958 of the Canada Ethnic Press Federation (CEPF). Before 1942, ethnic publications were almost entirely independent of one another and cooperation was minimal. The first step toward sustained and effective collaboration

Canada Ethnic
Press Federation

was made in 1942, when the publishers of western ethnic papers formed the Canada Press Club of Winnipeg. A similar move occurred in Ontario in 1951, when the Canadian Ethnic Press Club of Toronto was founded. In 1958, the two clubs united into a single organization, the Canada Ethnic Press Federation. Since then ethnic press clubs have also been founded in Vancouver and Montreal. The objectives of the Federation are to study and interpret the Canadian scene and to aid the integration of ethnic cultures into that scene.

492. Most of the Federation's member publications are weeklies with large circulations and more than half of them are directed toward Slavic groups. Many other publications do not belong to the Federation for a variety of reasons, including financial difficulties, the organization of the Federation, and personal and regional rivalries. Certain types of periodicals, such as monthlies and quarterlies, see little advantage in membership, since they tend not to rely on advertising (an important concern of the CEPF), and because they characteristically appeal to a rather select clientele. Regional jealousies are particularly strong, and they often cut across ethnic lines. For example, many editors of publications originating in Toronto are recent immigrants and they have often been resented as intruders by older immigrants or by the Canadian born. Westerners occasionally voice a general suspicion of eastern "foreigners," and hint that the federal government favours Toronto at their expense. However, the CEPF has had a considerable degree of success. It has assumed the role of spokesman for the needs and desires of the ethnic press, and it has obtained recognition from the federal and some provincial governments.

493. The Federation has also assumed the role of guardian of the interests of all non-British, non-French cultural groups, calling official attention to cases of discrimination or alleged discrimination against them. Promotion of a more open immigration policy is a major concern. It has also been very energetic, and fairly successful, in persuading the federal and provincial governments to increase government advertising in ethnic publications. Finally, it has attempted to consolidate inter-ethnic activities and relations through a formal exchange of information among its member publications.

New sources
of material

494. A second significant development among ethnic publications is a fairly recent tendency both to broaden and consolidate their sources of information. This development may in the long run prove just as important as the founding of the CEPF. In the past an ethnic editor had to rely almost exclusively on translations from English- and French-language papers, and on out of date publications from the homeland. These two sources are still important, but they no longer predominate, and are supplemented by a variety of other sources. These include

publications by government agencies; material distributed by Canadian Scene (a Toronto news service founded to help in the settlement and integration of new immigrants, privately financed and providing information in 12 languages for the use of all non-Communist, other-language publications in Canada); the CEPF; various small press services; domestic periodicals and magazines; foreign government publications; the foreign press services; and radio and television broadcasts. Because of lack of staff and financial resources, ethnic publications must rely mainly on secondary sources of information on national and international affairs. The major secondary sources of such information are weekly news magazines and English- and French-language dailies and weeklies. Local news is generally taken from local newspapers.

495. Press services of other countries are not widely used by the editors of ethnic publications. The only important exception is the Jewish Telegraphic Agency which supplies material to some Jewish publications. However, many countries with large numbers of immigrants in Canada finance monthly or semi-monthly publications which are sent free to both editors and individuals.

496. In the last few years, the ethnic press has become an established institution; a great change from its unstructured and ephemeral past. These changes have increased the ability of an ethnic publication to supply relevant information on topics of interest to a particular cultural group, and have thus also improved its ability to retain its readers. Furthermore, the ability of the ethnic press to voice the demands of the different cultural groups in a coherent fashion through the CEPF may help to persuade governments and organizations to meet these demands, which may in turn increase the importance of the ethnic press.

Recent
consolidation

7. Content

497. Ethnic publications devote about 50 per cent of their space to news, 25 per cent to entertainment, and 25 per cent to advertising. Many people believe that ethnic publications contain a large amount of information on the activities and interests of the cultural groups they serve but content analysis suggests that this is not true. A 1965-66 survey of 67 publications directed toward ten different cultural groups showed that the average coverage of group activities was only about 25 per cent of the total news coverage, or 13 per cent of the material published.¹

498. However, some papers carried considerably more material on group activities. In the Lithuanian publications approximately 70 per cent of the news published dealt with the group and for the Greek

¹ See Adie, "The Ethnic Press."

press the figure was about 40 per cent. Different publications directed toward a single cultural group also varied remarkably in the proportion of space they devoted to group news.

Canadian topics

499. The proportion of Canadian news also varied widely between cultural groups and individual publications, but the average was 20 to 25 per cent of the total news. A wide range of Canadian topics was discussed but some themes were emphasized consistently. In general these were themes that affected, or appear to affect, the cultural groups involved. Any event, proposal, or issue concerning immigration was stressed heavily. Discrimination was another topic of special interest and about half the ethnic papers surveyed were deeply and continuously concerned with this question. The ethnic press generally expressed relatively little adverse criticism of the Canadian way of life. Any criticism was usually directed toward isolated aspects of Canadian society of special concern to the cultural group or the publisher.

News of the homeland

500. News of the land of origin was another important topic in almost every ethnic publication but again it was probably of less concern than is often thought. Content analysis suggests that such news makes up no more than 20 per cent of the total news coverage. The publications of the Dutch, Jewish, Polish, Greek, and Chinese cultural groups seemed to show the strongest interest in news of their homelands.

International news

501. International topics were another important area and in this case the publications displayed a fairly even level of interest; international news ranged from 10 to 25 per cent of the total news coverage.

502. The ethnic press as a whole appeared to stress literary content, and serialized fiction and poetry were quite popular. The publications had almost no comic strips or cartoons, and little coverage of sports.

Ideological emphasis

503. A further general impression of the ethnic press is that it is more ideological than publications directed to those of French or British origin. This emphasis was difficult to determine because almost all reporting in any language and in any paper reflects the beliefs of the reporter to some degree. However, there appeared to be a considerably greater amount of explicit expression of opinion in the ethnic press. This is partly a matter of style and tradition, since most European countries have a more vigorous opinion press than North America. Editorializing of the news is probably increased because editors tend also to be leaders within their cultural group, because many publications depend on associations that have a specific ideology, and because of a belief that the ethnic paper should be educational.

Advertising

504. Advertising constituted approximately 25 per cent of the total content of the ethnic press.¹ The information available does not allow

¹ Compared to 40-60 per cent for successful Canadian dailies, according to W. H. Kesterton, *A History of Journalism in Canada* (Toronto, 1967), 150.

precise statements on the proportions paid for by local and national businesses, but approximately 75 per cent of all advertising in the ethnic press can be characterized as local.

8. *Conclusions*

505. The many and varied publications that make up the ethnic press render a number of important services. They interpret the events and customs of Canadian life to immigrants unacquainted with the country's two official languages. They inform their readers of activities and issues within their cultural group. They act as spokesmen for the interests and viewpoints of particular cultural groups and of immigrants in general.

506. The vast post-war influx of immigrants, the high standard of education and literary interests of many of these immigrants, and the general affluence of their community have all contributed to the present vigour of the ethnic press. The formation of a nation-wide ethnic press federation and the improvement of news services for ethnic publications both attest to its strength and serve to increase it. Television does not seem as yet to have had adverse effects on ethnic publications either by providing an alternative source of information and entertainment or by speeding the linguistic integration of immigrants.

Current
strength

507. The contribution of ethnic publications to the maintenance of languages and cultures is difficult to determine. Ethnic publications no doubt prolong to some extent the use of ancestral languages and interest in different cultural heritages. However, they are typically short-lived. The recent improvements in the services they offer may increase their appeal to native-born readers.

508. Ethnic publications might benefit greatly from additional assistance, particularly financial aid, but it should be pointed out that they already receive considerable aid. Federal, provincial, and municipal governments distribute to constituent periodicals information judged to be of particular concern to their readers. The various sectors of government also advertise in the ethnic press. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State makes a financial contribution to the biennial conferences of the CEPF, and also occasionally indirectly subsidizes ethnic publications by entering into contracts with their editors for projects requiring research and writing. The independent news service, Canadian Scene, also performs an important service at no cost to the publications which use it.

Current aid

509. It would be difficult to recommend further forms of monetary aid from government to ethnic publications. Independence is as important for them as for any other publication, and a government subsidy can carry with it the danger of government influence. In addition,

Obstacles to
further aid

many forms of aid to ethnic publications would interfere with their normal tendency to rise and decline in response to a group's needs. Moreover, the practical difficulties in establishing criteria, policies, and practices for disbursing aid would be immense. The ethnic press should receive the same consideration as other areas of the media as far as support of this kind is or may be undertaken by government agencies, although a distinction might be made between regular operating costs and non-recurring capital costs or particular projects that are associated with the publications' business. However, the principle of a free and independent press must remain a central concern.

510. We approve of the existing forms of government support for the ethnic press, including the supplying of information through press releases and paid advertisements and the provision of special forms of financial assistance through the Citizenship Branch, as mentioned above. Such support should be continued and perhaps expanded. However, we do not feel that any publication should depend on a government for any sizable proportion of its funds. The need for a free and independent press precludes such subsidization of any publication, including those which make up the ethnic press.

511. Government policy decisions in other areas may adversely affect the ethnic press; for example, the recent changes in postal rates. This particular development is too recent for anyone to know in detail the nature and extent of the effect it will have, but it should be looked at by the government with a view to its consequences for the ethnic press.

B. Radio and Television Broadcasting

512. Each cultural group cannot have its own broadcasting facilities, because of the cost. It must seek to utilize the facilities of either the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation or the private sector of the broadcasting industry. We have only considered broadcasting in languages other than English or French in this section although this will not give a complete picture of the media available to members of other cultural groups. Some broadcasting in French or English is undoubtedly of interest only to these cultural groups but the number and extent of these broadcasts cannot be ascertained.

513. English and French broadcasting involves a two-directional flow of information between the two main groups in our society and the other cultural groups. Ideally Canadian society as a whole gains knowledge of the smaller cultural groups from such broadcasting, and vice versa. The presentation of the other cultural groups to the rest of the population is of greater concern here since it is obvious that Canadian society is constantly presented to the other cultural groups.

1. *Broadcasting in other languages*¹

a) *The public media*

514. In Canada, only privately-owned broadcasting facilities broadcast in other languages. The publicly-owned broadcasting media have always operated only in French and English, with the exception of the areas noted below. The policy of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation is summarized in the following statement from their brief to the Commission:

It is natural that some of these groups should want broadcasts in their own language, but the Corporation is not in a position to meet this demand.... The CBC is a federal agency, the statutory creation of Parliament... Parliament recognizes only two official languages....

It would seem that private radio and television stations... are better situated to provide broadcasts in languages other than English or French.

515. The CBC's policy appears to have been developed by the Corporation, since broadcasting in languages other than English and French is not referred to in the Broadcasting Act. The [Radio] Broadcasting Regulations of the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG) specifically permitted such broadcasting, and it appears that the CBC could broadcast in any language, subject to the conditions noted below. The Corporation does broadcast a small amount of service information from St. John's, Newfoundland, to the Portuguese fishing fleet operating on the Grand Banks. This service was initiated at the request of local merchants. The CBC also broadcast from Montreal during Expo '67 in languages other than French and English from midnight until 3 a.m., making use of personnel from its International Service.

CBC policy

516. The CBC excepts Indian and Eskimo languages from its general policy of limiting its broadcasts to English and French. The Corporation explains its position as follows:

Northern Service

To fulfill the purpose of the CBC to educate, inform and entertain the Northern Service broadcasts programs designed to meet the needs of Canadians living in the North. One of these needs is for special programs in the Indian and Eskimo languages in addition to those in French and English.

In broadcasting in these indigenous languages, the Northern Service is not trying to preserve, develop or expand their use; their viability is not the CBC's responsibility. It does so because it is the only means of communicating with some of its listeners by showing respect for their mother tongue, thereby establishing a mutual trust without which it cannot fulfill its purpose.²

¹ "Broadcasting in other languages" here means all broadcasting except that in English, French, or Indian and Eskimo languages. The term "foreign-language broadcasting" has intentionally been avoided in this section because it is ambiguous.

² Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Northern Service, "Indian and Eskimo Language Programs," Ottawa, January 6, 1964.

517. The Northern Service is not one connected network although parts of it do form area or regional networks. The same stations or networks broadcast Indian- and Eskimo-language programmes as well as English and French programmes.

International
Service

518. In addition to its Northern Service, the CBC has an International Service with special facilities that broadcast in languages other than English and French, but these programmes are not directed to Canada's other cultural groups. The International Service is designed to provide a daily short wave broadcasting service in 11 languages, as part of the information activities of the Canadian government. Tapes of these programmes are not available in Canada, and there is no indication that the broadcasts are listened to by means of short wave receiving sets by a significant Canadian audience. Nor is the content of these broadcasts designed to appeal to residents of Canada.

519. The International Service does arrange domestic distribution of broadcasts from other countries. These programmes are not available to other cultural groups in Canada, as such, since union agreements specify that they can only be used by broadcasting organizations; but the broadcasts are of course available to all Canadian listeners when scheduled over domestic networks and stations. Although these broadcasts supply some information and considerable music from many countries, the spoken portions of the programmes are in English or French, and thus these programmes cannot be considered broadcasts in other languages.

b) The private media

520. Because the publicly-owned media broadcast mainly in Canada's two official languages, broadcasting in other languages is dependent upon private facilities. Prior to 1962 the status of broadcasting in languages other than the official languages was unclear. There was no general policy for stations to follow, but a survey conducted in January 1958 revealed that at least 54 stations offered some services in other languages.¹ In January 1962, largely as a result of an application to establish a station in Montreal to be devoted to the other cultural groups, the BBG stated its general policy on the matter. In 1964, the BBG drew up official regulations for AM and FM radio broadcasting in languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages. There is so little television in any languages except English

¹ "A Report on Foreign Language Radio Programming," compiled by the Canadian Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (CARTB), 1958.

and French that no policy toward such programmes is mentioned in the BBG's television regulations.

521. According to the BBG's regulations, Canadian languages for broadcasting purposes include English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages. Stations broadcasting in any other languages are subject to all the normal regulations, and also to certain special provisions. No station may broadcast in other languages for more than 15 per cent of its total broadcast time in any week, unless it has received special permission to exceed that figure from the Canadian Radio and Television Commission (CRTC), which replaced the Board of Broadcast Governors in February 1968. The CRTC may, upon application by a licensee and without holding a public hearing, grant permission to the licensee to broadcast in other languages for more than 15 per cent of broadcast time, but not for more than 20 per cent. Also upon application to the CRTC, but with a public hearing, the CRTC may grant permission to broadcast in other languages "for periods that in the aggregate exceed twenty per cent but do not exceed forty per cent of the broadcast time per week of the station."¹ Before this latter permission is granted the licensee must show to the CRTC's satisfaction that there is a "sufficient number" of potential listeners in the area to justify the special authorization. A "sufficient number" would be between 150,000 and 200,000.² The licensee must also show that such broadcasts will help to integrate the members of the audience into the community and must describe the methods by which he will exercise control over the programme and advertising content of such broadcasts. In any event, no licensee will be granted this authorization if the area concerned does not possess a multi-station classification.

522. For all stations the time devoted to broadcasting in other languages is computed in block periods from the opening announcement of a particular language segment to the closing announcement of the portion in that particular language. The language used in the opening and closing announcements determines what cultural group the programme is considered to be directed toward. If any programming in other languages is handled by programme contractors, the licensee must know at all times the English or French equivalent of what is said. Scripts of all spoken portions of such programmes broadcast in languages other than French and English must be filed with the station management, together with a certified correct translation in either English or French. All food and drug commercials in other languages must, like

Existing
regulations

¹ Canada, Board of Broadcast Governors, "Radio (F.M.) Broadcasting Regulations," *Canada Gazette*, Part II, vol. 98, No. 13, July 8, 1964, 652-3. See also *ibid.*, "Radio (A.M.) Broadcasting Regulations," *Canada Gazette*, Part II, vol. 98, No. 3, February 12, 1964, 166-7.

² Canada, Board of Broadcast Governors, "Foreign-Language Broadcasting," Public Announcement, January 22, 1962, 2.

their English and French counterparts, be submitted for clearance by the Department of National Health and Welfare, with the additional requirement that they be accompanied by a certified correct translation.

523. Stations broadcasting in other languages are expected to arrange their programming to enable their listeners to learn something about Canadian history, geography, and government. Furthermore, the station is expected to assist immigrants to understand English or French by special programming. For listeners who understand only English or French, the station is expected to provide capsule résumés in the appropriate language of what has been said in the other language.

524. These requirements thus ensure that a cultural group can have neither the only radio station in an area nor a station devoted exclusively to broadcasting in its own language, even if its members make up a majority of the population of the area and are willing and able to finance a station. No station can devote itself exclusively to one cultural group, even when all these conditions are met, because the regulations require that it must ensure that it serves "a majority of the principal ethnic groups in its proposed listening area." The requirement of providing translations is another difficulty. Considerable ambiguity is added by the requirement for educational content in programmes.

Aims of
regulations

525. It is obvious that the BBG viewed broadcasting in languages other than English and French only as an aid to the integration of other cultural groups into Canadian society, and not as an aid to the maintenance of other languages and cultures. This position was stated quite clearly in their 1962 announcement:

The Board recognizes there is a need particularly in the larger centres of population for broadcasting in languages other than English and French to help in the task of integration. This applies particularly to the housewife who is largely confined to tasks within her home and does not have the same opportunities of a husband at work or children at play to become quickly conversant in either English or French.

By mixing some periods of foreign-language broadcasting with English and French over a broadcasting station, the broadcaster can assist in not only making the newcomer feel less lonely in a new land but can help to inculcate instruction in the Canadian way of life—government, customs, tradition, culture—more easily than would otherwise be the case.

It is recognized, of course, that as ethnic groups become better assimilated this need will gradually disappear unless there is a continuing heavy influx of immigrants.

Current
programming

526. The time actually devoted to programmes in other languages is relatively small. In one week during August 1963, for example, about 300 hours were used by about 55 radio stations across the country broadcasting to approximately 20 cultural groups. In one week during February 1966, some 50 stations, broadcasting in about 25 lan-

guages, used about 200 hours.¹ The average number of hours in the two Canadian samples corresponds approximately with the average of five hours in the United States as determined by a recent study.²

527. Most stations that broadcast languages other than English and French do so for short periods of time. Many had less than one hour of such broadcasts during the sample week during February 1966, and some had as little as 15 minutes. The average would have been considerably lower had it not been for the high number of hours recorded by a very few stations. CFMB in Montreal, at that time the only station in Canada authorized to broadcast as much as 40 per cent of its time in other languages, broadcast 48 hours during the sample week. CHWO in Oakville and CKFH in Toronto broadcast 30 hours and 20 hours respectively. These three stations accounted for about 50 per cent of all broadcasting in other languages on AM radio stations in Canada during that particular week.

528. Ontario has the most stations involved in broadcasting in other languages, the greatest number of hours devoted to such programmes, and the greatest variety of groups to which the broadcasts are directed. In February 1966, 21 of the 50 stations broadcasting in other languages were situated in Ontario, ten in Quebec, four in Manitoba, four in Saskatchewan, six in Alberta, and five in British Columbia. During the sample week, the Ontario stations accounted for approximately 110 hours of broadcasting, Quebec stations for 60 hours, Manitoba stations for 16 hours, Saskatchewan stations for 4 hours, Alberta stations for 18 hours, and British Columbia stations for three hours.

529. Ontario and Quebec stations together accounted for 85 per cent of all broadcasts in other languages in Canada during the sample week. Almost all Quebec's portion of this figure was accounted for by the 48 hours broadcast by CFMB in Montreal. French-language stations in Quebec and elsewhere were responsible for approximately 26 hours, or roughly 13 per cent, of broadcasting in other languages during that week.³

530. In this field as in the ethnic press, Ontario and Quebec together contribute a much greater percentage of the total than their proportion of the population with ethnic origins other than British and French would lead one to expect. CFMB, CHWO, and CKFH which accounted for roughly

¹ See Appendix II, Table A-150. Figures for these samples are from BBG compilations. The figures for 1966 do not include FM radio stations, which had approximately 16 hours of other-language programmes during the week. Since our research was completed, other stations have entered the field of other-language broadcasting, such as, for example, CHIN in Toronto, which in 1968 applied for authorization to extend its broadcasting in other languages from 20 to 40 per cent of its total air time. The figures also exclude programmes in other languages broadcast in the United States but aimed at least in part at Canadian audiences.

² Mary Ellen Warshauer, "Foreign Language Broadcasting," in Fishman, *Language Loyalty in the United States*, 76.

³ CFMB is classified as an English-language station.

Geographic
distribution

50 per cent of broadcasting in other languages in Canada in one week during February 1966 are all located in Canada's most heavily urbanized areas. This suggests that urban concentration may be the single most important factor in determining the extent to which a cultural group is served by radio.

Groups served 531. The number of programme hours devoted to cultural groups other than the British and French varies widely. In the survey week during February 1966 the Italian, German, and Ukrainian cultural groups had 88, 33, and 26 hours of broadcasts directed at them in their respective languages, which in no way corresponds to their relative size as ethnic origin categories. The small Greek cultural group accounted for 23 hours, while there were only two hours devoted to the large Dutch group.

Television programmes 532. Since television does not impose linguistic demands upon its audience to the same extent as radio, it is probably more strongly assimilatory. In one week during February 1966, there were only about four hours of programmes televised in other languages, two hours and 20 minutes in Italian, one hour in Spanish and Portuguese, and 30 minutes in Polish. One and a half hours were broadcast in Ontario and the remainder in Quebec.

Programme content 533. The content of the radio and television broadcasts in the sample week, approximately 215 hours of broadcasting in all, is listed by programme categories in Table 20. This figure includes the 16 hours of FM radio and the four hours of television programmes. About 70 per cent of the time was devoted to light music (150 hours).¹ Religious programmes followed with 32 hours, followed in turn by classical music programmes with 24 hours.² Since the total available number of hours for the stations in the sample would certainly exceed 5,000, the number of hours devoted to each of these programme categories and the limited total number of hours of broadcasting in other languages suggest that such broadcasting is not very influential in the maintenance of languages and cultures.

c) Recommendations

534. In considering broadcasting in other languages, we have adopted two working principles. The first is that the position of the other cultural groups in Canada must be seen within the broad context of official bilingualism. Because of technical limitations in the broad-

¹ According to the BBG's programme categories this includes, "popular, folk, western, dance and band music intended as light entertainment."

² This category includes "classical, symphony, opera, choral recital and ballet programmes and interpretative dance music."

Table 21. Other-Language Broadcasting

Programme content of radio and television broadcasts in languages other than English or French during a sample week in February 1966

BGG programme categories	Number of hours broadcast
Light music	149.5
Religion	31.5
Classical music	24.0
Variety (revue) and music hall	8.5
News and news commentaries	7.0
Community and special events	4.5
Public affairs	2.5
Quizzes and games	2.5
Drama, story and light verse	2.0
Drama, poem and story	1.0
Sports and outdoors	1.0
Education (formal and informal)	.5
Total	214.5

Source: Board of Broadcast Governors.

casting media, this principle makes certain choices necessary; there are only so many television channels and so many positions on the radio band. The second principle is that not only integration but also the maintenance of languages and cultures is a legitimate aim, worthy of support. Statements by the BGG stressed the importance of broadcasting in other languages for the integration of immigrants. Broadcasting in other languages is also important for maintaining these languages and some elements of the cultures of the groups that speak them.

535. For private broadcasting there appears little reason why the policies and regulations for broadcasting in other languages should differ from those for English and French. Other languages should not have to face special restrictions in an area where competition is the keynote, once technical limitations and official bilingualism have been taken into account. Both the private stations and cultural groups other than the British or French should be free to negotiate whatever arrangements the market permits. This might well result in no significant increase in broadcasting in other languages, but it should still be the stated policy. It would at least allow more freedom in the production of programmes already being presented in other languages.

536. The CRTC should apply its general rules to broadcasting in the languages of the other cultural groups. It should not insist that the use of other languages be specially authorized. The educational

requirements of programmes in other languages should apply only to the extent that they also apply to programmes in English and French. Language should not be a factor considered in the restrictions placed on the monopolizing of a station by a single group. It does not appear reasonable that the licensee, in order to meet his responsibility for what is said in programmes he broadcasts, be required to have on file a translated version of every programme broadcast in another language. The licensee's responsibility should be considered fulfilled as long as a translation can be supplied if demanded by the CRTC.

Special
regulations

537. However, certain special regulations are necessary in regard to broadcasting in languages other than the official languages. The requirement that food and drug commercials in languages other than English and French be submitted with a certified correct translation to the Department of National Health and Welfare appears reasonable. English and French commercials of this nature must also be submitted for clearance, and we feel the Department should not be expected to know the content of all commercials in other languages without a translation. The same argument applies to any translations requested by the CRTC.

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538. The necessity for these regulations is further justification for the argument that other special regulations should be avoided. As long as broadcasting in the languages of the other cultural groups can meet its administrative and legal responsibilities, there is no reason why it should be hampered by extensive regulations which restrict its freedom to compete in the market-place. Therefore, **we recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English- and French-language programmes.**

Recommendation 9

539. Although the private sector of Canadian broadcasting is slightly larger than the public sector, the latter, because it is financed by public funds, has been of more concern to the spokesmen for the non-British, non-French cultural groups. A number of briefs to the Commission have demanded that the publicly supported media recognize the place of languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages in Canada by employing them in radio and television broadcasting. The maintenance of the linguistic and cultural heritages of all Canadians is of importance to the whole of society, they argue; and if the number of listeners or viewers of programmes in any one of the other languages would be small, so is the number of philatelists and balletomanes, for example, to whom

some CBC programmes are at present addressed. In broadcasting carried on by the CBC, there is little justification for proscribing languages other than English, French, and Indian and Eskimo languages, and there are considerable grounds for recognizing the place of other languages in Canada. There are, of course, difficulties in such recognition. The number and the location of Canadians who want to listen to broadcasts in other languages, the nature of the programmes that they would listen to, the allocation of time among the language groups, and the interest of sponsors in other-language programmes would all require thorough investigation. The question of if and how broadcasting contributes to cultural retention would also be worth exploring. However, the possibility of broadcasts in languages other than English and French should not be automatically rejected. Therefore, **we recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting.**

540. Removal of the proscription may not result in any immediate increase in broadcasting in other languages because of technical difficulties. Broadcasts in other languages could be carried either by existing CBC stations, replacing programmes now given in English or French, or by new radio or television stations. The former seems to be the preferable alternative. To use existing facilities would not involve appreciable cost, and it can hardly be argued that all the current English and French programmes are essential. Replacing present programmes with other-language programmes might cause some resentment. However, programme changes are always disappointing for some listeners, and the CBC has not considered this an overriding argument against such changes in the past.

541. If programmes in other languages were carried on new facilities, these would necessarily be FM radio stations or ultra high-frequency television channels. Since at present many radio and television sets are not equipped to receive FM or ultra high-frequency broadcasts, considerable expense would be involved both for the CBC and for the recipients. On the other hand, the cancellation of programmes in English and French would be avoided. The development of new facilities for broadcasting in other languages does not require the establishment of a third network, which would involve exorbitant expense. Single stations located in regions where there are many people who want to listen to broadcasts in other languages, such as the metropolitan areas of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver, would be the more likely development. Because even this

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more modest solution would be expensive, it is proposed only as a possible alternative to some publicly supported broadcasts in languages other than English and French using existing facilities.

542. We are aware of the difficulties and costs involved in CBC coverage in English and French radio and television, and the number of unanswered questions about the complex psychological and social factors involved concerning other-language broadcasting. Therefore, we **recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto.**

543. The development of satellite communication systems may, in the future, revolutionize broadcasting and open up new possibilities for receiving programmes in many languages from Europe and Asia. However, the domestic satellite communication system for Canada proposed by the federal government on March 28, 1968, envisages only a small increase in television channels and satellite-to-station, rather than satellite-to-set, transmission. It is therefore unlikely to improve the prospects for other-language broadcasting. The possibility of future developments should therefore not be used as an excuse for delaying action which is possible with our present technical resources.

2. *Broadcasting in English and French*

544. We agree with the Committee on Broadcasting which stated in its *Report* in 1965 that, "Canadian broadcasting would not be doing its job if it did not strive to permit all Canadians from one ocean to the other to know themselves better. . . ."¹ To the extent that Canadians who are of neither British nor French ethnic origin are integrated into the Anglophone and Francophone societies, radio and television meet their interests as adequately or inadequately as they meet those of other Canadians. For those who remain attached to their original culture, there are many broadcasts that reflect their interests. How many it is impossible to say, since there is no category among those employed by the CRTC or the CBC for classifying programmes which isolates those of particular interest to immigrants or members of other cultural groups. Even if such categories did exist, they could not take into account the frequent casual and informal recognition of the fact that

¹ Canada, Committee on Broadcasting, *Report* (Ottawa, 1965), 19-20 (usually referred to as the Fowler report).

Canadians are of many ethnic origins. These include names mentioned on newscasts, sports reports, and other programmes; biographical facts presented concerning newsworthy Canadians; the accents in which speakers, although broadcasting in English or French, present their views; and the titles and content of such programmes as the CBC's English-network television series entitled "Wojeck." Yet it is possible that these indications create a climate of opinion in which the maintenance of different cultures is permitted or even encouraged, and thus are more effective in assisting cultural maintenance than programmes specifically intended either to reinforce a group's culture or to inform others of it.

545. We feel, therefore, that the first necessity is for research concerning cultural groups other than the British and French with respect to radio and television broadcasting. Being aware of the intricate problems of methodology involved, and of the consequent high costs of research, we do not wish to prejudge where the most profitable areas of investigation may lie, but some obvious possible areas of study would include trying to discover what types of broadcasting at present on English- and French-language radio and television are pertinent to other cultural groups, and what the effects of the various types of broadcasting are—who they reach, and how they affect the attitudes of different members of their audience. As already indicated, broadcasting in which references are made incidentally to other ethnic origin categories or other cultural groups should be studied, as well as broadcasts directly and specifically concerned with other cultural groups. The comparative effects of broadcasts on public and private stations or networks should also be probed. Finally, of special interest to us would be a comparison of the treatment of the other cultural groups by the English and French media.

Need for
research

546. The CBC, which already has highly trained and experienced personnel in its research department, should certainly be involved in these investigations. Some of the research has, however, to do with the private as well as the public sector of the broadcasting industry, so private broadcasters and independent scholars should also take part. Therefore, **we recommend that research be undertaken through the CRTC concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations.**

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547. It has been suggested that the other cultural groups should have formal representation on policy-making broadcasting boards. We do not agree with this proposal. Such representation simply for the sake of representation is neither necessary nor appropriate. On the

other hand, those responsible for the appointments to such boards should be aware of the ethnic diversity of the Canadian population and the particular interests of the various cultural groups in our country. Certainly no qualified person should ever be excluded from such a position simply because he is of neither French nor British ethnic origin.

C. Film

548. Films in the languages of cultural groups other than the British and French which are produced in other countries are extremely important to some cultural groups in Canada. Some groups enjoy many films in their own languages and there are a few theatres that cater exclusively to certain groups. The number of such theatres in the country is small, but it demonstrates that groups can have their own theatres and films provided they are sufficiently concentrated to support them. Many theatres that show English- or French-language films also have special days when films in other languages are shown. In Ontario theatres in many cities show such films on Sundays. Because of the excellence of many films produced in a variety of languages, some groups in Canada can see films in their own languages, with sub-titles, which run for long periods in some of the best and largest theatres. Other groups are unable to do so because the film industries in their countries of origin are not yet well developed. They will have more opportunities as film production in their countries of origin develops and becomes competitive in the international film market.

Usefulness of foreign films

549. Films with sub-titles in English or French are also a means of communication between the cultural groups other than the British and French and the Canadian public as a whole. These films do not portray other cultural groups in Canada *per se*, but they can provide the Canadian public with glimpses of a group's general culture and of the way of life in its country of origin. Well-made films based on life in these countries but produced in English and French also contribute to the public's knowledge and appreciation of these cultures. Again, some groups are particularly well served in this area, either because of the stage of development of film production in their countries of origin or because their countries of origin are favourite settings for English- or French-language films. It should be noted that, although the problem cannot be dealt with in this Book, such films can also misrepresent other cultures and undoubtedly do so at times. Films produced abroad in languages other than English or French now make an important contribution to the maintenance of languages and cultures within the different cultural groups in Canada.

550. The National Film Board is the main film agency in Canada which portrays the other cultural groups. A private film industry is developing in Canada in both French and English but it has not as yet portrayed the various cultural groups in any depth. In its own words, the Film Board's function is to produce and distribute films "on matters relating to the interests of Canadians and to the interests they share with other countries throughout the world."¹ Such films portray Canada's social, cultural, economic, and industrial growth. They show what is happening in Canada, and what is happening abroad of importance to Canada.

National Film Board

551. Films for distribution in Canada must be produced in either English or French; but in 1966, in addition to its English and French productions, the Flm Board also had versions of its films in 40 other languages. Altogether prints of 178 films were available in languages other than English or French.

552. These versions were produced primarily for distribution abroad, in collaboration with the Department of External Affairs. They are also available for special programmes in Canada, and the Film Board is pleased to respond to requests for them, but such requests are rare and there is no policy for stimulating them. For example, in 1966, the following language prints were made available:

<i>Language</i>	<i>Number of Films</i>	<i>Region</i>
Italian	31	Ontario
Spanish	14	Newfoundland
German	5	Ontario
Dutch	4	Ontario
Italian	3	Quebec
Portuguese	2	Ontario
Dutch	1	Quebec
German	1	Quebec
Hungarian	1	British Columbia
Hungarian	1	Ontario
Portuguese	1	Newfoundland
Swedish	1	Ontario

The Italian films for Ontario were requested by the Film Board's Toronto office to stimulate interest in the Board's films. The Portuguese and Spanish films were requested by the Film Board's Atlantic supervisor for a Portuguese ship whose crew members could not understand English.

553. Since the spokesmen for some cultural groups were of the opinion that the Film Board either did not have versions of its films in

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¹ National Film Board of Canada, *Catalogue of Films 1965* (Ottawa, 1965), 2.

other languages or did not make them available for domestic showing, **we recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French, particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films.**

554. The National Film Board has portrayed aspects of the life of many different groups in Canada, including the Polish, Jewish, Chinese, Negro, Greek, Ukrainian, and Hutterite groups. In its *Catalogue of Films 1965*, for example, "One Sunday in Canada" is described as follows:

When an Italian immigrates to North America he brings a little bit of Italy with him. The warmth of his sunny Mediterranean he must leave behind but he can sing about it in his songs and preserve it in his customs. This film visits an Italian community in Montreal on a summer's Sunday. It is a day of special observances at the Italian church and also the day when Montreal's Cantalia soccer team challenges Toronto's Italia.

In addition to films about particular groups, the 1965 *Catalogue* lists a number of films about outstanding Canadians who are of ethnic origin other than British or French, for example, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Henry Larsen, and Paul Anka; about "the unsung, unnoticed men who keep a community running," including "Paul Tomkowicz—Street-Railway Switchman"; about immigrants and their problems; race and ethnic prejudice; learning English as a second language; and the settlement of Canada and its growth into a nation, "its traditions enriched by those of many peoples." Finally, the Board has produced and distributed films such as its "Comparisons" series (1960-64), in which similar aspects of life in several countries are compared, in an effort "to reduce the strangeness between people."

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555. The National Film Board has certainly not ignored the contribution of other cultural groups in its productions, and whether or not it should have produced more films about them is a question of subjective judgment. It has also attempted not to focus unduly on the folklore or on any curious aspects of the lives of members of any specific cultural group, as group spokesmen have suggested, in spite of the difficulties of making the participation of members of other cultural groups in everyday Canadian life sufficiently dramatic for film-making purposes. Therefore, we commend the Board for its past work, and **we recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films.**

556. In its terms of reference the Commission is instructed to take "into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada." We have indicated in our General Introduction that

There are several possible interpretations of this statement. In the broadest sense of the term "culture," the sheer fact that men came from elsewhere to take part in building the country has contributed to our cultural enrichment. When they arrived, their essential concern was to continue the work of carrying civilization into the thinly populated areas. By settling the country they helped to lay the basis for Canada's cultural growth.

In a narrower sense Canadian culture has been the richer for the knowledge, skills, and traditions which all the immigrant groups brought with them. Their many distinctive styles of life gradually increased the range of experience, outlook, ideas, and talents which characterize the country. Cultural diversity has widened our horizons; it has also given opportunities—not always seized upon—for various approaches to the solution of our problems.

Finally, the coming together of diverse peoples in Canada also benefited our culture in the humanistic sense of the term. For a long time the frontier was not a rich soil for the arts and letters. Many of the frontiersmen had taken little part in the artistic life of their homeland, or if they had, they were forced to forget such pursuits in the new country. As it matured, however, Canadian society turned to the search for grace and leisure, and the folk traditions preserved by the sons and daughters of the early settlers combined with the artistic sense, the talents, and the skills of later immigrants to add new dimensions to literature, music, and the plastic arts in Canada.¹

557. So far in this Book the contribution of the cultural groups other than the British and French to the cultural enrichment of Canada

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, General Introduction, § 16-18.

has been discussed in the first two senses. In this chapter we discuss the contribution of those whose origin is neither British nor French in the domains of literature, music, the performing arts, and the visual arts in Canada. We also discuss the organizations set up by cultural groups to preserve their artistic and literary heritage.

558. We wish to recall briefly two principles noted in the General Introduction that will guide us in our discussion of the arts and letters.

In any work of art it would be futile to try to distinguish between the contribution of the author as an individual and that of the cultural group to which he belongs; to ferret out the artist's origin, or the degree to which he reflects his ethnic group, would be no more rewarding. A work of art is first and foremost the work of an individual, but it always has roots in society. Finally, we must bear in mind that no artistic creation will take its place in the culture inherited by all Canadians unless its creator has become sufficiently integrated into the Canadian community to speak meaningfully to it.

We think it undesirable, even if it were possible, to measure various groups against a yardstick and say that some have contributed more and others less . . . our intention is to recognize and to point up the cultural and linguistic riches that Canada possesses, since to do so is a first and essential step towards safeguarding those riches.¹

559. Art and literature are so personal that we cannot avoid naming individuals but those we mention are certainly not the sole contributors to the field under discussion, nor is there any implication—since subjective judgment is inevitably involved—that they are the most outstanding. We are not making judgments on the aesthetic or professional merits of the works mentioned in this chapter but it is important to review and illustrate their diversity and scope.

Nature of survey

560. Here, we wish to record some of the contributions of those of ethnic origin other than British or French in the arts and letters and to review some of their achievements that have received public recognition or a measure of acclaim from critics and scholars. The briefs received and the surveys carried out by the Commission illustrate a richness and variety that we attempt to summarize in this chapter. The Centennial edition of *The Canadian Family Tree* includes the names and ethnic origin of many individuals who have contributed to all fields of artistic endeavour; so do many histories of the arts in Canada.²

General support

561. In addition to the direct contribution of artists and writers we would like to acknowledge the general support given to arts and letters by those of ethnic origin other than British or French. In

¹ *Ibid.*, § 19-20.

² See, for example, Alan Gowans, *Looking at Architecture in Canada* (Toronto, 1958); J. Russell Harper, *Painting in Canada: A History* (Toronto, 1966); Helmut Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada, 1534-1914* (Toronto, 1960); and C. F. Klinck, *et al.*, eds., *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English* (Toronto, 1965).

studying the contribution of other cultural groups to Canadian arts and letters we have been reminded repeatedly that many members of these groups have for years provided financial support for the arts: they are collectors of art; donors to museums and art galleries; patrons of theatres, ballet companies, and orchestras; and donors of prizes, scholarships, and awards for promising young artists. These contributions, and the more anonymous but equally essential contribution of those who support the arts by attending plays, concerts, and exhibitions, have been vital to the development of arts and letters in Canada.

A. Literature¹

1. In English and French²

562. Since it was on the prairie that the first wave of immigrants of origin other than British and French had to come to terms with the Canadian environment, the first type of literature to bear a deep imprint of writers of other ethnic origin was the western regional novel. The opening up of the West and the struggle of homesteaders against a harsh and unrelenting physical environment were too dramatic for writers to overlook. The first prairie novels, published in the opening decades of the 20th century, were by authors of British origin such as Nellie McClung, Frederick Niven, Ralph Connor, and Robert Stead. However, the first such novel actually written may have been by the Swedish immigrant Frederick Philip Grove, although his books were not published until the 1920's and 1930's. His five prairie novels are usually considered his best works:

Prairie novels

They portray man in conflict with a forbidding land and a forbidding climate, in conflict with his own inchoate impulses and with the often contrary impulses of his fellows, and in conflict always with time which quickly eats away that which he builds; and yet man retains his dignity even in defeat. Technically, Grove's novels embody the strengths and the weaknesses of that school of naturalists who dominated the European and American novel from roughly 1880 to 1914. Like the novels of Zola and Dreiser and Hamsun, Grove's have strength and solidity, present masses of accurate sociological detail, and embody in plain prose a deterministic view of human character; but like those novels, too, they are somewhat deficient in flexibility and subtlety, in grace and wit. They are perhaps rough hewn, but they are hewn from granite.³

¹ This term is taken to include imaginative literature and literary scholarship in any language spoken in Canada.

² Because the majority of immigrants to Canada have adopted English as their language, there will be fewer references to literature in French in this section. However, a number of post-war immigrants of Polish, Ukrainian, and other ethnic origins have begun to write in French.

³ Desmond Pacey, "Fiction, 1920-1940," in *Literary History of Canada*, 682-3.

563. Grove had a European education and a broad European experience. Martha Ostenso, who grew up in Minnesota and North Dakota, and Laura Salverson, who was raised in Manitoba, are two other prairie writers. Their books represent in fiction the experience of immigrant settlement in which the parents of the writers had themselves participated and which the authors had observed as they grew up. It is no accident that Scandinavian writers produced several of the best-known and most influential works in the literature of the West. They did so because of their high educational standards and because of their cultural affinity with Anglophone society.

564. Western novels, whatever the origin of their authors, have strong similarities in theme and atmosphere, but those by writers of British origin tend to stereotype the settlers of other ethnic origin. Works by the children of these settlers portray their people as individual and human. They also depict a sharper sense of isolation and a wider gulf between the generations, and thus throw into sharper relief the problems of all western settlers. However, such differences are marginal. A more noticeable contrast is that between western novels as a whole with their sombre realism, and the predominantly idyllic fiction being written at the same time in other parts of Canada.

Urban novels

565. A second type of fiction to which writers of ethnic origin other than British or French have contributed is the urban novel. However, here the city is not the chief protagonist, as the prairie is in western novels. These works are concerned with a search for identity or values. They have appeared mainly since World War II and, in keeping with the development of Canadian literature generally during this period, have tended to show greater sophistication and skill than earlier works. Their authors have included men and women of all ethnic origins—immigrants, temporary residents (such as Malcolm Lowry and Brian Moore), and the native born.

566. The first type of urban novel by writers of ethnic origin other than British or French portrays young people growing up in ethnic communities in Canadian cities and their struggles to achieve their goals. Two outstanding examples are John Marlyn's *Under the Ribs of Death* and Mordecai Richler's *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz*. John Marlyn, of Hungarian origin, describes the boyhood and young manhood of Sandor Hunyadi, the son of a Hungarian immigrant, in the north end of Winnipeg in the 1920's. The effort of this boy to escape from his cultural group and from poverty is thwarted by the Depression.

567. Mordecai Richler, a Jewish writer from Montreal, sets Duddy Kravitz, a similarly ambitious youth, in a teeming and exuberant Jewish slum in the 1940's and 1950's. In this more prosperous era Duddy achieves his goal. Many of the scenes from the novel seem to

be not a recasting of the author's experiences, but a graphic recollection of them.

568. Another type of novel concerned with the search for identity or values is not bound to the Canadian environment, but looks to Europe and the past. Examples include Henry Kreisel's *The Rich Man*, Adele Wiseman's *The Sacrifice*, and A. M. Klein's *The Second Scroll*, all first novels by writers of Jewish origin. The latter two are interesting for their use of religious themes, *The Sacrifice* for the theme of sacrificial slaughter and *The Second Scroll* for that of the search for the Messiah. In *The Sacrifice*, an immigrant Jew from Russia "sacrifices" his son to his own conception of Jewish greatness. He cannot reconcile himself to the materialism of Winnipeg, and this inability results in murder (both symbolic and actual). The sacrifice of the first two generations does not seem to be in vain, however, because the grandson begins to be able to face the ugliness of much of surrounding reality without surrendering his sensitivity. The material of the book is drawn from the Jewish experience in Canada, but its implications are universal. *The Second Scroll* has been described as having

Other novels

the rhetorical power, the exuberance in handling words observable in the best of Klein's poems, and it includes sections of poetry in the glosses that make the novel, with its five books from "Genesis" to "Deuteronomy," not only a parallel to the "First Scroll" but also to the sacred commentaries upon it. From the pogroms of 1917 to the State of Israel in 1949, it records the exile, exodus, and return of the chosen people as a young Jewish Canadian journalist, in search of his multiform and messianic uncle, Melech Davidson, comes to understand that miracle.¹

569. Those of non-British, non-French origin writing in English have made distinctive and valuable contributions to a number of other forms of prose. F. P. Grove, Vilhjalmur Stefansson, and Laura Salverson wrote memorable autobiographies and the first two also published essays. Norman Levine's *Canada Made Me* is an arresting combination of memoir and travel. Alicja Poznanska-Parizeau's novels and travel books, written in French, successfully combine the memory of her Polish background with a strong desire to establish roots in Quebec. Drama for the stage, radio, and television has also benefited from the talents of writers of many different ethnic origins.

Other prose forms

570. Three Montreal poets may be taken as examples of the many contributions to Canadian verse by poets of ethnic origin other than British or French. All three are Jewish, and their poetry owes much to this fact; all rank among the finest of Canadian poets. A. M. Klein has been called "the first contributor of authentic Jewish poetry

Poetry

¹ Hugo McPherson, "Fiction, 1940-1960," in *Literary History of Canada*, 710-11.

to the English language."¹ He represents the fruitful, organic synthesis of the Christian and Judaic cultures, the past and present, in a balanced, artistically rendered view of different universes. The universality of Klein's tastes and interests is evident in his themes which are Jewish and Gentile, political and philosophical, social and religious, international, Canadian, and local. "The Hitleriad," "Hath not a Jew . . .," "The Rocking Chair," psalms, and numerous uncollected poems confirm the thematic breadth of the poet. "The Rocking Chair" is recognized as a remarkable interpretation of French Canada by a poet writing in English. His vigorous, strong, and clear language is enriched with Hebrew-Judaic imagery.

Klein . . . a son of immigrants who had saturated himself with the culture of his parent generation . . . is thoroughly at home in the Canadian milieu. He has accepted both worlds and is one of the few in North America writing to epitomize this dual harmony—a very rare kind of phenomenon, for it is generally the conflict and turmoil that makes for creativity.²

571. Irving Layton is one of the best known and most prolific of contemporary poets. His work is not permeated with Jewish tradition to the extent that Klein's is but his cultural identity does mark his poetry, partly by making the stance of outsider natural to him. He himself has identified not only the Jewish community, but specifically the Jewish community of Montreal, as essential in the development of his poetic vision.

572. Leonard Cohen was born several decades after Klein and Layton, and his poetry, songs, and novels all express the sensitivity of a new generation. His Jewish background figures explicitly in a number of his poems and in his novel *The Favourite Game*. His vitality and creativity have gained him a large and enthusiastic international following, and much critical acclaim.

**Jewish
contribution**

573. The contribution of those of Jewish origin to literature in English is so outstanding that a number of critics have spoken of it as constituting a distinctive type, characterized not only by quantity and quality but by an underlying theme, the struggle of the individual to understand and free himself from suffocating traditions and social ties.³ This theme is not limited to Jewish writers although it is expressed with special force by them. The number of Jewish authors who have become expatriates, for example, Mordecai Richler, Norman Levine,

¹ See David Rome, ed., *Jews in Canadian Literature* (Montreal, 1962), 50.

² B. G. Kayfet, "Immigrant Reactions as Reflected in Jewish Literature," *Congress Bulletin* [Canadian Jewish Congress], XVI, No. 8 (October, 1962), 4-5.

³ See Jean-Charles Falardeau, *Roots and Values in Canadian Lives* (Toronto, 1961), 16-17; Roy Daniells, "Poetry and the Novel" in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, Julian Park, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957), 72-4; George Woodcock, "Introduction," to Mordecai Richler, *Son of a Smaller Hero* (Toronto, 1966); and Northrop Frye, "Poetry" in *The Arts in Canada*, Malcolm Ross, ed. (Toronto, 1958), 88.

Leonard Cohen, Jack Ludwig, and Lionel Shapiro, is an indication of how strongly the restrictions of their environment, depicted in their novels, are felt by these writers. The few examples which we have been able to note here do not give an adequate indication of the number and diversity of Canada's Jewish writers.

574. There are obviously many other writers—novelists, poets, and critics—of different ethnic origins, writing in both English and French. Louis Dudek is a well known poet of Polish origin and the author of several volumes of verse as well as numerous critical studies. Alain Horic is of Croatian origin and is one of the foremost figures in the new-wave poetry of Quebec today. Dudek writes in English, Horic in French.

Other examples

575. Any discussion of the contribution of cultural groups other than the British and French to Canadian literature should include some note of works by those of British and French origin. Their work often indicates the degree to which sensitive and articulate people have been aware of the role of other cultural groups in Canadian life. Such works also indicate the impact of Canada's linguistic and cultural diversity upon the art of the authors. In many cases these factors have been a source of inspiration for novelists and poets of both British and French origin. The role of the Ukrainians in Margaret Laurence's novel *A Jest of God*, is one example, as are the Negro, Ukrainian, and Italian characters in *Rue Deschambault* by Gabrielle Roy. Other examples are *L'incubation* by Gerard Bessette, in which the character Weingerter is an Austrian; and *Aaron* by Yves Thériault, which describes the Montreal Jewish community. A complete analysis of these and other works would involve retracing much of the history of Canadian literature.

2. In other languages

576. It may surprise some to learn that Canada has produced creative literature in many languages other than English and French. Imaginative writing flourishes in all literate societies, and its volume and aesthetic qualities are subject to various factors and circumstances. Emigration and the strangeness of a new land undoubtedly have a detrimental effect, but this does not necessarily lead to a total disappearance of literary pursuits among those isolated from their native cultures.

577. The various cultural groups in Canada have developed literary traditions with different degrees of intensity, generic diversification, and volume. These are not directly correlated with either the numerical size of the group or its length of residence in Canada. There is almost no cultural group without at least a few works written in Canada, but in the past such works were often by individuals continuing to

Post-war
immigrants

practice an art that they had followed before their immigration. Some have been attempts by the barely literate to express deep emotions in poetry and prose. These writings, although poignant, were often crudely expressed. Now there is vigorous activity in many cultural groups because of the number of writers who immigrated in the post-war period. For example, excellent poetry is now being produced in Czech, Polish, and Magyar by poets including Jiri Skvor, whose pen-name is Pavel Javor, Zofia Bohdanowiczowa, Wacław Iwaniuk, Bogdan Czajkowski, and Stanislas Michalski.

578. Of special significance and interest are works by members of several cultural groups, including the Jewish, Ukrainian, and Icelandic, that have evolved a Canadian tradition and are represented by a large and diversified literary output. The themes of these works reveal a deep involvement with Canada.

579. The vast majority of writers using languages other than English and French are, of course, foreign born. Post-war immigration has substantially strengthened the vitality of certain groups and resulted in new levels of excellence and diversity, particularly in Jewish and Ukrainian literature. In general, literary activity in the ancestral languages of different cultural groups relies on immigration. A total or near curtailment of the inflow of fresh talent usually forecasts a diminution or even disappearance of literary works in the ancestral language.

a) Yiddish and Hebrew

580. Literature in Yiddish and Hebrew, particularly the former, has frequently acted as a germinal agent in the development of future writers and poets who themselves write mainly or only in English. It stimulates their creative urge and serves as a rich source of material. Many writers have acknowledged their debt to Yiddish literature and its influence is evident in even a perfunctory analysis of their work. Some eminent Jewish poets have also translated Yiddish poetry into English.

581. A bibliography of Jewish writers in Canada lists 76 writers of whom 69 work in Yiddish, six in Hebrew, and one in both.¹ Yiddish literature in Canada has a long tradition. As early as 1900 Montreal enjoyed the reputation of being an important centre of Yiddish culture, with many established writers, poets, and scholars. The increasing rate of immigration and the arrival of the survivors of the European holocaust has further invigorated many aspects of Yiddish culture in Canada. Literature in particular has gained a number of accomplished men of letters and Montreal has retained

¹ David Rome, *A Selected Bibliography of Jewish Canadiana* (Montreal, 1959).

its reputation, as evidenced by a score of international literary awards.

582. There are talented artists in all branches of Canadian Yiddish and Hebrew literature, but poetry deserves particular mention because of both its quality and quantity. The list of poets is headed by the Polish-born Jacob I. Segal, who published 12 massive volumes in the space of four decades, and includes Ida Massey, Melech Ravitch, and many others. Unfortunately, the treasures of Yiddish literature can only be appreciated by the steadily shrinking number of members of the Jewish cultural group who speak Yiddish.¹ Few of these works have been translated into either French or English.

Poetry

583. Yiddish literature written in Canada is a continuation of European tradition in more than a thematic sense. Its imagery, motifs, and moods reflect the past, and the authors' countries of emigration. Their tendency to write about old worlds has been strengthened by the events of World War II. Canadian themes are not completely absent among the work of post-war immigrants but are more general in the works of the generation that has been born or raised in Canada. Many Yiddish novels are autobiographical in character, while Hebrew literature appears to be represented, in the main, by scholarly and theological works.

b) Icelandic

584. A small and hardy group of Icelandic settlers, who faced the hardships of pioneer life, transplanted into the new world their rich literary tradition, especially their love of poetry. In relative terms, no other cultural group, including the British and French, has produced so many poets writing in such volume. Although a large portion of this work may have no lasting literary value, it demonstrates that the Icelandic appreciation of poetry has survived in Canada despite adverse conditions. In 1937, approximately 70 authors of Icelandic origin were writing poetry which appeared in numerous periodicals.

Poetry

585. There is likely no more prolific poet than Stephan G. Stephanson, whose literary work fills 1,800 pages of a six-volume collection. He was one of a considerable number of Icelandic poets who were self-educated farmers. Born in Iceland, he emigrated to North America at the age of 17 and supported a large family by farming; yet he became one of the foremost modern Icelandic poets. The range of his poetic vision is unusual, encompassing past and contemporary worlds, love for his native land and adopted country, religious and social

¹ The percentage of those reporting Jewish as their ethnic origin who gave Yiddish as their mother tongue in the census was 95 per cent in 1931; 76 per cent in 1941; 51 per cent in 1951; and 32 per cent in 1961.

radicalism, pacifism, and a pervasive communion with nature. His command of his mother tongue, intellect, and poetic talent are all reflected in the formal aspects of his poetry. He was no mere follower of established conventions; he enriched the Icelandic language and pioneered new forms and novel modes of expression. Nature is a frequent theme, lyricism a dominant mood. The prairies and the magnificent panorama of the mountains were the inspiration for much of his poetry. "No other Canadian poet in any language presents a comparable picture of Western Canada."¹

586. Icelandic prose has had a much smaller following but has included a wide range of writing—fiction, short stories, plays, memoirs, and fairy tales for children. Icelandic literature serves as a cultural bridge between the old and new worlds. The few Canadians not of Icelandic extraction who can appreciate it give it unqualified acclaim. For example:

It is the glory of the Icelandic settlers that in their first generation among us they have created a poetry, based on Canada and their experience of it, that is worthy of challenging comparison with the best that three centuries have produced in their foster-country.²

c) Ukrainian

587. Prior to World War I, there were few intellectuals among the Ukrainian immigrants to Canada. However, the foundations for Ukrainian literature in Canada were laid. A number of periodicals and books were published in the Ukrainian language. The publication of *Immigrant Songs of the Old Land and the New* by Theodore Fedyk in 1908 was particularly important. This book went through several editions, totalling more than 50,000 copies. Other works included poetry, plays, and some fiction. The most frequent themes were longing for home and complaints about the loneliness and hardship of life in Canada.

588. Between the two world wars a number of Ukrainian artists and scholars immigrated to Canada and the literary work produced began to have greater sophistication and versatility. The first Canadian-born generation also matured, and the first efforts were made to use Canadian themes, sometimes combined with Ukrainian themes. The quantity of poetry decreased in favour of prose, including sketches, short stories, and a number of ambitious novels. Outstanding was Ilya Kiriak's trilogy, *Sons of the Soil*, which has been described as: "a great epic of the Canadian West, and as such it is to be accepted not only by those of Ukrainian extraction, but by Canadians as a

¹ W. Kirkconnell, "Canada's Leading Poet: Stephan G. Stephansson, 1853-1927," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, V, No. 1 (January, 1936), 272.

² W. Kirkconnell, *Canadian Overtones* (Winnipeg, 1935), 15.

whole.”¹ Kiriak’s work was translated into English by another noted essayist and writer, Michael Luchkovich, and was abridged by Laura Salverson.

589. Since World War II it is estimated that some 50 established Ukrainian poets, writers, and scholars have settled in Canada, and many of them have continued to publish many works in the Ukrainian language, including books, brochures, and pamphlets. The amount of poetry produced is particularly notable. M. I. Mandryka is one of the leading poets. Various organizations have instituted awards for outstanding achievement in the literary field and there are at present four active Ukrainian literary clubs in major Canadian cities. This period may be characterized as one of intense activity, assessment of past achievements, consolidation, and the breaking of new ground. The Ukrainian cultural group in Canada has supported more extensive literature in a language other than English or French than any other cultural group in Canada. This is unusual since so many members of this group were born or raised in Canada. The literature originating in the Ukrainian language in Canada is only exceeded by that originating in the Ukraine.

Post-war
developments

d) *Translations*

590. Canadians of origin other than British or French occasionally undertake to communicate their own cultural heritage, or to draw on the traditions of the two main cultural groups, by means of translations. *Poésie du Québec contemporain* is an anthology of the works of 18 Quebec poets translated into Ukrainian. *Sub Signo Sancti Hyacinthi*, a brief history of the Polish community in Ottawa, was published in 1963 in Polish, French, and English. Publications of this nature generate an interchange among Canada’s different cultural groups which is worthy of encouragement.

B. *Music*

591. Until a century ago, only folk music, church music, and band music in the French and British traditions were widely available to the majority of the Canadian population. A small minority enjoyed secular music from Europe, much of it German and Italian. Many German immigrants and those of German origin performed as bandmasters, choirmasters, soloists, teachers, importers of instruments and printed music, and founders of musical libraries and professional associations. In addition, German craftsmen established the Canadian piano-making industry. Only about the time of Confederation did musicians of British and French origin assume leading roles.

¹ C. H. Andrusyshen, “An Epic of Western Canada,” in *Ukrainian Year Book*, F. A. Macrouh, comp. (Winnipeg, 1952), 16-17.

Historical
background

592. Toward the end of the 19th century musical culture in Canada acquired diversity and a degree of sophistication which attracted famous touring performers. In addition, a few Canadians who went abroad for training rose to international fame. Essentially, though, Canada was still an importer of talent and a consumer of music originating abroad. This situation did not change substantially during the first two decades of the present century, although Canadian themes were introduced and Canadian-born musicians began to enter the field in greater numbers. The children of music-loving immigrants who had arrived at the turn of the century were ready to take up careers in music by the 1920's. From then on, "Canadian orchestras in particular would be unthinkable without players of Ukrainian, Jewish and Italian origin."¹

593. In the 1930's, some young composers were influenced by modernistic trends from abroad, notably those associated with Schoenberg, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, and the British, French, and American schools. However, it was not until about 1950 that their efforts resulted in any notable awareness of new developments among conductors, teachers, and the Canadian musical public at large.

594. Since World War II, music in Canada has moved forward rapidly. It has shown amazing vitality and diversity and has found a steadily growing audience. Artists who have received much of their training in Canada have achieved success in some of the most famous concert halls, opera companies, and orchestras of the world, and music by Canadian composers has begun to form part of the repertoire of international artists.

595. Many of these developments involved artists born or educated in Canada, but often of neither British nor French origin. These include some of the country's best-known musical families, such as the Adaskins, Agostinis, Brotts, and Masellas. The work of some Canadian composers shows the influence of their non-British, non-French origin. For example, such compositions as John Weinzwieg's sonata, "Israel," for cello and piano, and Alexander Brott's "Chassidic Dance," make direct use of Jewish thematic material.

Influence of
immigrants

596. Those born or educated in Canada could not have made their contribution to music without the stimulus of musicians born and trained abroad, who have been coming to Canada since the second decade of the century, especially from Europe. They have emigrated from countries with old and renowned musical cultures and traditions and have brought diverse musical gifts and skills, as composers, orchestra conductors, instrumentalists, vocalists, scholars, teachers, and critics.

¹ Kallmann, *A History of Music in Canada*, 202.

597. A vast majority of Canada's immigrant musicians arrived here when still young and at the peak of their creativity. Most had either just embarked on a career or were about to do so. Many had been trained in excellent schools under recognized masters, and some had been exposed to the latest developments in European music. Their qualifications opened doors to Canadian musical circles, facilitated communication with Canadian-born musicians, and often won them advantageous positions where they could influence the development of music in Canada.

598. Especially noteworthy are the musicians who arrived in the late 1930's and 1940's. They found Canada ready for new musical enterprises, and many have made conspicuous contributions by setting up schools of music, orchestras, and opera and ballet companies. Their successors have maintained and expanded their work. Never before "have musicians from the Germanic and Slavic countries figured so prominently in Canadian musical development."¹ Notable contributions have also been made by musicians from the three Baltic states, Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania.

599. Especially striking are Canada's gains in the field of composition. Both critical and popular acclaim have been accorded the works of many composers including Oskar Morawetz, Otto Joachim, Udo Kasemets, Talivaldis Kenins, George Fiala, and Sonia Eckhardt-Gramatté, who already had an established reputation in Europe before immigrating. Morawetz joined the teaching staff of Toronto's Royal Conservatory of Music in 1946 and soon won awards in competitions held by the Canadian Composers Association. His works have since been played by some of the best known European orchestras, as well as Canadian ones. While Morawetz works with more traditional techniques, the compositions of Istvan Anhalt and Udo Kasemets are more avant-garde, using Schoenberg's atonal technique.

Composers

600. Directors and conductors of Canada's symphony orchestras have frequently been either immigrants of ethnic origin other than British or French or members of a mobile fraternity of conductors that knows no national boundaries. Immigrant conductors and directors have been responsible since the end of World War II for the establishment of professional, semi-professional, and amateur symphony orchestras and chamber orchestras in many Canadian towns and cities. These orchestras have not always endured, but their effects upon the musical life of the country have been considerable. One example is Mateusz Glinski, a conductor, musicologist, and authority on Chopin, who came to Canada from Poland in 1956. He is today conductor of the Niagara Falls orchestra. Mobile conductors, such as Walter Susskind, Thomas

Orchestras

¹ John Beckwith, "Music," in *The Culture of Contemporary Canada*, 157.

Musical
education

Mayer, Zubin Mehta, and Seiji Ozawa, have often brought glamour, excitement, and international attention to the Canadian musical scene during their sojourns here. Many orchestral musicians have also been recruited from among immigrants of non-British, non-French origin.

601. In the past, many Canadian musicians went to Europe for their advanced musical education. This is less true today. Many European artists and educators now teach in Canada and music students are now able to complete their musical education here. Immigrants who arrived in Canada during the last three decades form the core of the teaching staffs of music departments in many universities and private schools. In addition, immigrant musicians have done considerable work in the field of musicology.

602. Some of our foremost soloists, vocalists, and instrumentalists have arrived in Canada more recently. Among them are Walter Joachim, the cellist, Greta Kraus, the harpsichordist, and Jan Rubes, the basso. Other immigrant musicians are radio and television producers, composers, and musical directors, and they participate in almost every branch of the musical arts and musical entertainment.

Folk and
church music

603. Many cultural groups have orchestras and choirs dedicated to familiarizing their members with the classical and folk music of their homeland. These vary in quality, but the best are excellent. They nurture a love of music and encourage the development of talent, thus making an important contribution to the musical education of both artists and audiences. On occasion, they have forged links of appreciation and understanding between an otherwise highly isolated group and its neighbours. Church music has also played an important part in the music of various cultural groups in Canada, and church organists and choir-masters have played a vital part in developing both artistic talent and music appreciation.

*C. The Performing Arts**1. Ballet*

604. Opera and ballet are frequently considered the two aristocrats of the arts, and are often regarded as indicative of the level of a society's artistic sophistication. Both combine music with stage performance and thus require a synthesis of two artistic media. They are costly, and usually appeal to a relatively small audience. In Canada they developed slowly at first, but since World War II they have shown rapid development. Immigrants and Canadian-born artists of origin other than British and French have played a vital part in this development.

605. Any review of those engaged in ballet in Canada shows an unusually large number of immigrants, especially during the earliest period of development. Boris Volkoff, the Russian-born founder of the first professional company in Canada, Celia Franca of the National Ballet, and Ludmilla Chiriaeff of the Grands ballets canadiens, are all artistic pioneers of outstanding talent, training, and dedication. In recent years, the number of Canadian-born artists has increased, particularly among the dancers. Many immigrants now work as teachers, artistic directors, stage and costume designers. In these crucial positions they transmit their creative ideas and accumulated experience to a new generation of young Canadian artists.

Development of
ballet

606. The achievements of Canadian ballet in recent years are considerable. Canadian ballet companies have made several successful tours outside Canada and individual dancers have won coveted international trophies in competition with members of long-established and renowned ballet companies. For example, Galina Samtsova, who came to Canada from the Ukraine, won acclaim in the international festival in Paris. In 1966 another international trophy was brought home by the Dutch-born Martine Van Hammel. Within a quarter of a century, Canadian ballet has moved from an amateur level of performance to one which can, on occasion, equal the best professional ballet in any country in the world. The ease with which artists from Canada are accepted by non-Canadian companies, especially in the United States, indicates the quality of teaching in Canada's ballet schools, although it is a sad indication of our country's inability to retain its young talent. Ballet is now an integral part of Canadian cultural life and immigrants of many different ethnic origins have contributed much to its artistry.

2. Opera

607. The development of opera is dependent on the simultaneous presence of several conditions: the availability of talented and highly trained artists, those with rare production skills, appropriate physical facilities, an appreciative public, and generous sponsors. Several of these essentials did not exist in Canada before 1945; some are still scarce. There are at present only five cities that offer professional operatic performances on a regular basis: Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton, and Vancouver. There are also operatic presentations in Stratford, Ontario each summer as an adjunct to the Shakespearian Festival.

Development
of opera

608. Occasional operatic performances have been presented in Canada since the late 18th century. These were usually staged by touring companies and presented in buildings designed for almost everything

but opera. The few attempts at Canadian productions were unsuccessful and short-lived. However, during the last 25 years the requirements for the production of professional opera have been developing.

609. Like the other arts, opera had originally to rely on a supply of artists and professionals drawn from countries with established operatic traditions. This dependence has gradually decreased, as immigrants with suitable training, talent, and experience established a firm Canadian base for opera.

First opera
school

610. The founding of the first regular opera school in 1946 was an important step in the history of Canadian music. Its establishment was largely due to Arnold Walter, an Austrian-born musician, scholar, and educator, along with several other European immigrants, including Nicholas Goldschmidt and Felix Brentano. The Opera School, now part of the University of Toronto, can already claim a substantial measure of success. Some of its former pupils have performed in the world's foremost opera houses. Teresa Stratas, the celebrated Canadian-born soprano of Greek origin, is only one example of the quality of Canadian musical education. Another institution which has done much to develop an appreciation of opera in Canada, the Banff School of Fine Arts, has had Italian-born Ernesto Vinci as head of its singing and opera division.

611. Herman Geiger-Torel, of German origin, arrived in Canada in 1948 and since then has been associated with the fortunes of the Canadian Opera Company. He has been described as "the life and soul of this company from its beginning and it is due to him, more than anybody else, that a distinctive style of production is already making itself apparent."¹ Another leading participant in the Toronto-based company is its conductor and director, Ernesto Barbini, who is of Italian origin.

3. *Folk-dancing*

612. Many cultural groups encourage their young people to learn folk-dancing as an art form, to be performed for the enjoyment of the group and the wider community. The folk-dances of many lands, performed in costumes of varying authenticity, have long been favourite items on the programmes of concerts, rallies, and festivals. Innumerable dancing ensembles of varying degrees of competence have emerged. Schools have grown up to teach folk-dances and to maintain standards of performances and costume. The more talented pupils have sometimes entered schools of ballet or modern dance, and have become professional dancers, instructors, and choreographers.

¹ Boyd Neel, "Opera," in *The Arts in Canada*, 63.

613. Recent interest in folk-dancing as an art form led to the founding of the Feux-Follets of Montreal. Canadians of many origins are included among its dancers, singers, and musicians. The company's repertoire is based on the folk-dances from many lands that have become part of Canada's heritage. The Feux-Follets have won considerable acclaim on their recent local and international tours.

4. *Drama and the theatrical arts*

614. Theatrical performances were presented in Canada since the very earliest times. The first theatrical events were sporadic amateur activities. Commercial performances by touring companies, which came later, enjoyed their greatest success during the late 19th century and in the years just before World War I. In the 1920's the touring system failed. There were promising local developments, but these were quickly stifled by the Depression. Since World War II, theatre has flourished in Canada. Professional theatre has improved steadily, as evidenced by the growth of a number of professional companies, the inception of the Stratford Shakespearean Festival, the founding of the National Theatre School, and productions in drama on radio and television, particularly by the CBC. Amateur theatrical activity has also increased.

615. Immigrants have certainly played a part in the development of Canadian drama but, because of the dependence of this art form on language, these performers have usually been from English- or French-speaking countries. Those of other mother tongues have contributed as producers, directors, designers of costumes and sets, and technicians of various kinds.

616. Amateur theatre in languages other than English and French tended to flourish among the various cultural groups shortly after their arrival in Canada. Literacy was not necessary and the theatre provided a means of expressing the hopes and fears of immigrants in a bewildering and exciting world. In the larger cities there was even professional or semi-professional theatre, with touring companies supplementing local efforts. Later these theatres declined although some cultural groups, for example the Ukrainians, still support theatrical companies.

Amateur theatre

617. The increasing tendency among immigrants to concentrate in the urban areas of the country has led to two interesting experiments. The first is the New Canadian Theatre in Toronto. Since 1963 this theatre has been presenting plays performed by immigrants whose accented English would prevent them from performing in other English-language theatre companies. This novel venture gives former professional actors from Europe a stage on which to practise their art in the English language, and gives audiences a chance to see seldom-produced European plays. In this way the Toronto groups exploits some of the

New experiments

talents of immigrant performers and offers programmes very different from the regular repertoire of amateur Canadian tours. The second experiment is Montreal's La Poudrière, the only multilingual theatre in Canada. Since its inception in 1958 it has presented plays in French, English, German, Spanish, and Italian.

D. The Visual Arts

1. Painting

618. Until the early years of this country, the development of painting in Canada was slow, and dominated by immigrants who had received their artistic training before they came to Canada, such as Cornelius Krieghoff, William von Moll Berczy, William Raphael, and Otto Jacobi, and by Canadian-born artists who had gone abroad for training, such as Paul Peel, James Wilson Morrice, and Maurice Cullen. Tom Thomson, the Group of Seven, and their associates introduced a Canadian spirit into painting. This spirit is well summarized in the Group of Seven's official statement, made in February 1933:

The Group of Seven has therefore always believed in an art inspired by the country, and that the one way in which a people will find its own individual expression in art is for its artists to stand on their own feet, and place.... It has also always maintained for themselves and others of new and untried themes, to produce works in terms of its own time and place.... It has also always maintained for themselves and others the right of freedom of expression, believing that only in diversity of outlook will there ever be a widespread interest in the arts of this country....¹

Much of this spirit still endures, although it does not now find expression in a national style as much as in regional styles, shared by American as well as Canadian painters.

619. Canadian painting has been receptive to all kinds of influences, both native and foreign. Artists of origin other than British or French who have been born or educated in Canada include among many others Louis Mulstock, Bruno Bobak, Aba Bayevsky, Takao Tanabe, Kazuo Nakamura, Roy Kiyooka, William Kurelek, Carl Schaefer, and Guido Molinari. Artists who have immigrated to Canada after receiving their training abroad include Fritz Brandtner, John Korner, Paraskeva Clark, Herbert Siebner, and Jan Menses.

620. In some instances, the influence of the cultural background of the artist on his work is not readily apparent; in others it is clearly visible. In the paintings of rural life in western Canada by William

¹ Quoted in *Royal Commission Studies, A Selection of Essays*, Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (Ottawa, 1951), 410.

Kurelek, born in Alberta of Ukrainian immigrant parents, the influence of folk-art and religious tradition is unmistakable. The work of several Canadian-born Japanese artists frequently recalls oriental art in its delicacy of line and colour. The tendency of Jewish artists to continue to produce representational art in spite of the general trend towards non-objective art is sufficiently characteristic to lead critics to speculate about its cultural roots.

2. *Sculpture*

621. Although sculpture has a long history among native Indians and Eskimos and in Quebec, it did not receive much attention in the art world of Canada until quite recently. Since then it has shared in the general upsurge of interest and activity in the arts, and in addition has benefited from a growing association with architecture. Immigrant sculptors have played a significant role, both in the period of public indifference and in the more recent period of greater acclaim. Emmanuel Hahn, who came to Canada from Germany, was an influential early sculptor who also designed many Canadian stamps and coins. More recently, it was noted that

Many Europeans, among them such artists of stature as the Deichmanns, Dora de Pédery-Hunt, Kopmannis, Leonard Osterle, and a good dozen others, have brought to Canada old traditions and draftsmanship and new images and forms, and those who teach are contributing greatly to the establishment of standards of international validity.¹

Among the other immigrants who have contributed to the development of sculpture in Canada are Marcel Braitstein, Leo Mol, Anne Kahane, Yosef Drenters, Sorel Etrog, and Augustin Filipovic. Canadian-born sculptors of origin other than British and French have also won renown for their work.

3. *Architecture*

622. Many of Canada's non-British, non-French cultural groups have modelled their houses, churches, and public buildings in Canada on those they knew at home, and thus made familiar to Canadian eyes a variety of different types of architecture. Examples can be seen in Vancouver, Winnipeg, Toronto, and Montreal. Their first buildings were usually modest. When members of the group became more affluent they replaced them with larger and more ornate structures, often hybrid in style and less aesthetically pleasing than their predecessors. A new generation of architects of many different ethnic origins has adapted traditional European architecture and modern concepts and materials

¹ Alan Jarvis, "Sculpture in Canada," *Canadian Art*, XIX, No. 4 (July/August, 1962), 269.

to the Canadian environment. Architects of many different cultural heritages other than British and French have designed many of Canada's outstanding new public buildings, including churches, cultural centres, airports, city halls, and educational institutions. Although architects from many cultural groups have contributed to their field, those of Ukrainian and Japanese origin deserve special mention for their contributions.

4. *Graphic arts*

623. Graphic arts encompass many of the crafts employed in different industrial fields, such as engraving, lithography, print-making, book illustrating, and photography. Graphic design for advertising, television, books, and magazines is perhaps Canada's strongest art in this area. Immigrants have again made a great contribution in this field and have won a number of international awards. Often their work has established a new level of professionalism and sophistication.

Prints and
photography

624. One of Canada's foremost printers and etchers was Nicolas Hornyansky, born and trained in Hungary. His prints are highly valued today and his work has had a great influence on a younger generation of artists. For many years he held a teaching position at the Ontario College of Art, and was instrumental in organizing the Society of Canadian Printer-Engravers and Engravers. Other artists in these fields include Lithuanian-born Viktoras Bruckus and Telesforas Valius, the top prize winner of the 1958 exhibition of the Canadian Society of Graphic Arts. Vera Frankel is another artist whose prints show a rich thematic and technical diversity. Photography has also reached a high artistic level in the hands of those of neither British nor French origin including Yousuf Karsh, Malak, Roloff Beny, Henri Rossier, John de Visser, and Kruer Taconis among others.

5. *Crafts*

625. There is considerable disagreement regarding the position of crafts in relation to fine arts. Some people regard them as falling between the work of the artist and that of the artisan. Others, especially craftsmen, reject this dichotomy.

Contribution of
immigrants

626. A massive influx of European craftsmen, especially since World War II, has invigorated the existing crafts and established a number of new ones. The skills, training, experience, and inherited traditions of designs and techniques which these immigrants brought to Canada have helped to make Canadian crafts a flourishing industry. Their impact on the quality and the direction of development of Canadian crafts is indisputable and it is therefore particularly hard to choose examples from the long and varied list of those who have contributed to the

growing excellence and diversity of the crafts in Canada. Polish-born Krystyna Sadowska has won international awards for her weaving, as has Lidia Stolfi for her ceramics, pottery, and tapestries. Also well-known are the ceramics of Dora Wechsler, the terra-cotta figurines of Hilda Bolte, Bronka Michalowska's decorative porcelain, Ernestine Tahedl's stained glass, Jan Petrik's floral china, Antje Lingner's book designs, the copper enamel work of Tutzi Haspel Seguin, and the pottery and ceramics of Roman Sadowski, Dorothy Midanik, E. Drahanchuk, and Rose Truchnovsky, to name but a very few. Many European craftsmen also teach arts and crafts or have established their own schools, galleries, and shops.

E. Voluntary Associations

627. Many of Canada's ethnic associations are now vitally interested in the preservation and promotion of arts and letters related to their cultural groups. Originally many such associations were established to help maintain a particular style of life, and only later became self-conscious about maintaining their language, literature, arts, and crafts. However, since World War I, and to a much greater extent since World War II, many of the newer ethnic associations have from their inception been concerned with fostering arts, letters, and crafts among the members of their cultural group.

628. Voluntary associations directly concerned with the arts and letters are of two major types: one devotes most of its efforts to fund-raising, the other includes those that carry on a variety of cultural and scholarly activities. In the first category are foundations offering scholarships and rewards to deserving students who usually share the donor's cultural background. Frequently proficiency in the appropriate ancestral language and active participation in the cultural group's activities are required for eligibility. These awards can vary from 25 to several hundred dollars.

Artistic awards

629. This practice of offering awards for academic accomplishment is of relatively recent origin; initially most funds raised by ethnic associations were directed to maintaining student hostels in cities. The provision of living quarters was an important factor in raising the educational level among immigrant groups, particularly in western agricultural communities where school facilities were usually inferior to those in urban centres. Student hostels were also important centres of ethnic activity, which brought rich cultural dividends to the sponsoring group. The alumni of such hostels includes many of the present leaders—jurists, teachers, politicians, and professional people—of the different cultural groups. The number of such hostels has now diminished and their character has changed significantly.

Student hostels

Other
organizations

630. The second category of voluntary associations noted above includes a wide variety of literary, musical, drama, and university clubs, research institutes, associations of university teachers, book clubs, libraries, museums, and archives. These organizations carry on a wide variety of programmes: organizing lectures, discussions, exhibitions, and concerts; sponsoring individuals' efforts and new ventures; and seeking contacts with other cultural groups or the Canadian public at large.

631. Their administrative structures are as diverse as their activities. Some are part of larger associations, and others are independent but maintain informal ties with the organizations of other cultural groups. For example, the Canadian Polish Congress, with general offices in Toronto brings together almost all the organizations of those of Polish origin across Canada, while the chain of Goethe Houses maintains close contact with similar institutions in other parts of the world. Some associations remain in touch with the homeland, either through government cultural agencies or through government subsidized institutions.

632. Invariably, the success of both types of association depends, to a large extent, on the generosity and financial strength of the sponsoring groups. Their methods of financing include endowments, special fund-raising, campaigns, and regular subsidies.

Research

633. A substantial body of research, some of it of high quality, has been produced on the literature, history, and social life of the cultural groups other than British or French in origin. The Jewish group is the most extensively and intensely studied, and most of these studies are published in one of Canada's official languages, usually English.

634. Under the aegis of different cultural associations many scholars and specialists who immigrated to Canada, especially from central and eastern Europe after World War II, have continued to make use of their expertise and training in fields that are often of limited interest to our universities.

635. A recent project of some voluntary associations is the translation of literary masterpieces, including poetry, from their ancestral languages into English and French. These translations supply both group members who do not speak their ancestral language and the general public with a wider spectrum of literary experience.

636. Most ethnic organizations which promote arts, letters, and crafts, are dependent on recent immigrants for their leadership and much of their membership. Canadian-born members of the different cultural groups are attracted more strongly to organizations that include members of other groups. Ukrainian and the Jewish associations seem to have been the most successful in attracting Canadian-born members.

637. From the very beginning Ukrainians set up associations for the perpetuation of their folk arts. They sponsored choirs, dramatic groups, dancing ensembles, orchestras, craft activities, and libraries. In time, standards in these arts began to decline. Several cultural organizations grew concerned about this, and initiated a revival, which, aided by a strong sense of ethnic identity and pride, resulted in higher aesthetic standards being re-established. Native-born members of the Ukrainian cultural group, even of the third and fourth generations, still take an active and creative part in these activities.

Ukrainian
experience

638. Since 1949, both immigrant and Canadian-born Ukrainian scholars and artists of Ukrainian origin have contributed to the work of a unique institution in Winnipeg, the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences (UVAN) which is probably the most important contributor to the scholarly, artistic, and literary development of the Ukrainian cultural group. UVAN's interests go beyond the purely academic and it exercises considerable influence on the leadership of the Ukrainian community. Its involvement in the educational field has raised the level of cultural life of Ukrainians in general. Directly and indirectly, UVAN has taken part in many cultural programmes: it has a flourishing and well-organized adult education programme; it has been responsible for extensive publishing, including nine publications, mostly biographical and bibliographical in character, as well as dictionaries, grammars, school manuals, and individual works in the major humanistic disciplines. Some publications include works by non-Ukrainians; for example, *Onomastica Canadiana*, is a forum for American and European contributors. *Slavistica Canadiana* compiles a bibliography of all material on and by those of Slavic origin published in Canada.

UVAN

639. The diversity of the cultural life of the Jewish group is evident from a network of institutions encompassing almost every cultural area. The Jewish Public Library of Montreal, founded in 1914, the smaller Jewish public libraries in Toronto and Winnipeg, and private Jewish libraries in a number of other cities, the Keren Hatarbuth Organization, and the Cercle juif de langue française are only a few of the institutions involved. Social scientists have made ample use of the reports of the Research Bureau of the Canadian Jewish Congress, which between 1962 and 1966 had in progress or completed 15 research projects on demographic, historical, and economic trends in the Jewish community.

Jewish
organization

640. A cultural institution that embodies an exceptional generosity of spirit is the Japanese Canadian Cultural Centre of Toronto. The Centre, housed in a building of great beauty, was dedicated in October 1963 not only as a meeting place for members of the Japanese com-

Other
associations

munity but as a gift to all the people of Canada. Its facilities are freely available and have been enjoyed by those of all ethnic origins. Other institutions are the Polish Institute in Montreal and the Polish Research Institute in Toronto; both have libraries and archives and have sponsored the publication of several books.

F. Recommendations

641. Special support and recognition in the arts, letters, and crafts for individuals or groups whose cultural origins are other than British or French are unnecessary provided their artistic contributions appeal to the Canadian population as a whole. Considerations of origin and background do not weigh heavily in making awards in the arts. However, some assistance is both necessary and desirable, for artistic contributions made within the cultural groups. Support should be given to organizations whose objectives are to preserve the traditions and foster the arts and letters of these groups. Historical documents and artifacts, the fine arts, and folk arts of all the people of Canada are part of Canada's heritage. They help to nurture love of beauty and respect for artists and scholars, and to further development in arts and letters. The arts and letters of the other cultural groups are also a source of variety in outlook, ideas, and talent. Finally, support for the arts, letters, and crafts of its people affirms our pride in Canada's diversity.

Recommendation
14

642. The provision of such support does not at present seem consonant with the policies of the Canada Council, although individual scholars do receive funds from the Canada Council for some projects initiated by such organizations. The Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State is probably a more appropriate agency to provide such support. It already evaluates requests and allocates some funds for the promotion of arts, letters, and crafts among the other cultural groups as do provincial agencies in most provinces as well as some local agencies. These agencies serve all those who live in Canada, and we feel that they should have the means to give financial assistance openly, generously, and systematically. Therefore, **we recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French.**

Recommendation
15

643. We also feel that support should be provided for the folk arts of the Canadian people. These arts bring colour and variety to Canadian life. The work done by the Canadian Folk Arts Council under the aegis of the Centennial Commission resulted in a new awareness and

appreciation of folk art. We feel that this work should be continued and expanded beyond the performing arts to the whole range of folk arts. Therefore, we recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State.

644. An important part of Canadian support for the arts and letters of its peoples must be the preservation of the history in which these arts find their cultural base. The history of those of origin other than British and French in Canada is unfortunately little known. Spokesmen for a number of cultural groups have complained that their participation in the development of the country has not been sufficiently recognized. They have stated in their briefs to us that public institutions have taken a greater interest in the historical records and objects pertinent to the French and British than to the other cultural groups, and that the groups themselves have had to gather, preserve, and display the documents and artifacts associated with their coming to Canada and their early settlement here. A number of cultural groups have established museums and archives of their own.

645. To some extent, these complaints result from a misunderstanding. Neglect of historical material in Canada has been general. There has not been sufficient interest in the country's past to insure that the National Museum of Man and the Public Archives were provided with adequate facilities and funds.¹ This situation is now changing. Largely as a result of the celebration of the Centennial of Confederation, Canadians have become more interested in their history and more aware of the value of historical materials.

646. The senior staff of Canada's public museums and archives recognize the essential part played by the other cultural groups in Canadian history and are concerned that it be made widely known.² The Museum of Man has for several years been carrying on an ambitious and imaginative programme of research and publication concerning the folklore of Canada's smaller cultural groups. The first publication of folk music concentrated on five cultural groups—the Doukhobor, Mennonite, Hungarian, Ukrainian, and Czech—chosen from among 33 covered by a preliminary survey.³ The history division has also sponsored research on other cultural groups, and the museum has been delighted to accept artifacts for preservation and display from some groups. When conditions have been attached to gifts, however,

Recommendation
16

¹ See *Report of the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences 1949-51* (Ottawa, 1951), 98-9, 111-19.
² William E. Taylor, Jr., of the National Museum of Man and Wilfred Smith of the Public Archives were among those who discussed the situation with us.
³ Kenneth Peacock, *Twenty Ethnic Songs from Western Canada*, National Museums of Canada Bulletin No. 211, Anthropological Series No. 76, (Ottawa, 1966).

such as continuous display or display in a special designated section, the result has sometimes been misunderstanding between the donor and the museum staff. The museum has been hampered in carrying out its aims by poor accommodations and lack of funds, but there can be no doubt of its keen and informed interest in cultural groups other than the British and French. Therefore, **we recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French.**

647. The staff of the Public Archives finds at times that its first responsibility, the maintenance of the permanent public records of the nation, leaves little time or money for its second interest, the collection of originals and transcripts of all kinds of historical materials related to Canada. Its activities may seem to favour the British and French since government records are in English and French, and since these two groups have been dominant in Canadian history. However, the archives' staff is fully aware of the diversity of the Canadian population and is eager to collect materials regarding cultural groups other than the British and French. The archives already include many records of first importance for historical research concerning the immigration and settlement of various groups, and the staff is keenly interested in making the collection more complete through books and other records of immigrant aid associations, colonization and settlement societies, and ethnic newspapers with letters, articles, and editorials about immigration and settlement. The benefits of having such materials available to scholars in one place are obvious. The provincial archives are also aware of the many different cultural groups in the Canadian population, and are anxious to obtain materials concerning their role in the development of the provinces.

648. The many languages employed by the other cultural groups in Canada present some problems for archivists. It is necessary for the archives' staff to select the material most likely to have permanent value for research. It has been difficult to secure staff members trained in Canadian history and archival practice; it would be impossible to find such people if they were also required to be fluent in English, French, and one or more other languages. Members of the different cultural groups could, therefore, provide useful advice in the selection of documents when requested.

649. Private museums and archives devoted to specific cultural groups will continue to exist, and to serve an important purpose by preserving records and artifacts and making them accessible to people who may never visit the national museums and archives, and to young

members of the groups whose past they commemorate. The materials in private museums and archives that are significant for Canadian history can also be important for our scholars. We therefore suggest that the Museum of Man and the Public Archives prepare inventories of the holdings of these institutions. In some cases precious documents in private collections may be inaccessible to scholars, or may be deteriorating because of incorrect methods of storing and handling. We also suggest that the Public Archives undertake a survey of documents in private collections and that those documents of significance for Canadian history be preserved on microfilm.

650. A striking fact which emerged from our research into the cultural groups other than the British and French in Canadian society is that so little is known about the subject. Certain groups which are sufficiently large, prosperous, geographically concentrated, and well organized to have research institutes and learned societies have sponsored some research on the history, folklore, or achievements of their groups in Canada. These reports are valuable additions to our knowledge. Our recommendation that cultural and research organizations receive support is intended to recognize and extend their efforts. Social scientists at Canadian universities have sometimes done research on particular cultural groups, or on topics such as immigration policy, the country's capacity to absorb immigrants, and the attitudes of Canadians toward immigrants. The bibliographies entitled *Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada* issued by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1960, 1962, and 1964 are valuable tools for scholars and policy makers. However, the vast opportunities for research that our population provides have hardly been touched.

651. As far as a sociology of ethnic relations exists, it is mainly American. Although much can be learnt from research carried out in the United States, the conclusions reached are frequently not applicable in Canada. Canadian society differs from American society in a number of respects that are of direct importance to immigrants and cultural groups. Among these are the greater social role of government, the existence of two linguistic communities, the idea of a "cultural mosaic" instead of a "melting-pot," the fact that large-scale immigration to Canada continued after the United States' policy became restrictionist, the low density of our population, and Canada's proximity to a more popu-

lated and more highly developed country. By studying the effects of these factors, scholars could make distinctive contributions to social science, and also help to develop the understanding which must underlie sound social policy in Canada. Since Canada is one of the most technologically advanced of the highly pluralistic societies, research on the Canadian experience could also offer other countries more understanding of complex societies.

652. Throughout this Book we have called attention to areas where further research is needed. In some of these we have reported the results of research carried out for us, including preliminary work on ethnic voluntary associations, ethnic schools, and the ethnic press. Some of the research needed could be done under the auspices of the cultural and research organizations of particular groups. Studies that concern a single cultural group (or at most a few related groups), that require an intimate knowledge of the group's language and culture, or in which deep personal involvement, if not an asset is at least no detriment, are some areas where such organizations could make a valuable contribution.

653. However, the research that is most vital should focus on relations between cultural groups. Such studies will require the use of the most sophisticated methods of research and also complete detachment on the part of scholars. Universities, especially the divisions of the humanities and social sciences, will necessarily be involved. We hope that there will be Canadian scholars of many ethnic origins in the universities who can use their training and personal experience for developing insights into Canadian society. We are certainly not advocating ethnocentrism in the study of ethnic relations in Canada, for to do so would be to desert the principles that have guided this study.

654. We urge Canadian scholars and learned societies to give high priority to research concerning immigration and ethnic relations and their effects upon our social, economic, political, and cultural life. Many specific measures might be taken to stimulate such research. A centre for studies in immigration and ethnic relations might be established at one of our universities, or a special section with a focus on such studies within an institute for Canadian studies. Learned societies might focus attention on this area of inquiry by making the cultural and linguistic diversity of Canada the theme of a special seminar, an issue of a journal, or a session at a regular meeting. They might also sponsor a series of publications on immigration and ethnic relations. The Social Science Research Council of Canada might undertake an inter-disciplinary research project in the field. We do not presume to specify the ways in which such research could be stimulated, but we stress the importance of this field for Canadian society.

655. In the past, research concerning immigration and ethnic relations was possibly of greater interest to Anglophone than Francophone scholars. Today it is of vital concern to both societies, and it will continue to be so in the future. The Francophone community now includes scholars of many ethnic origins and many mother tongues, and the research advocated here should, therefore, be conducted by members of the Francophone as well as the Anglophone society.

1. We recommend that any provinces that have not yet enacted fair employment practices, fair accommodation practices, or housing legislation prohibiting discrimination because of race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin, do so; and that this legislation be made binding upon the Crown and its agencies. We further recommend that all provinces make provision for full-time administrators of their human rights legislation. (§ 152.)
2. We recommend that the same conditions for citizenship, the right to vote, and to stand for election to public office be accorded to all immigrants, with no regard to their country of origin. (§ 233.)
3. We recommend that the teaching of languages other than English and French, and cultural subjects related to them, be incorporated as options in the public elementary school programme, where there is sufficient demand for such classes. (§ 378.)
4. We recommend that special instruction in the appropriate official language be provided for children who enter the public school system with an inadequate knowledge of that language; that provincial authorities specify the terms and conditions of financial assistance for such special instruction; and that the federal authorities assist the provinces in mutually acceptable ways through grants for the additional cost incurred. (§ 383.)
5. We recommend that more advanced instruction and a wider range of options in languages other than English and French, and in


cultural subjects related to them, be provided in public high schools, where there is sufficient demand for such classes. (§ 390.)

6. We recommend that Canadian universities broaden their practices in giving standing or credits for studies in modern languages other than French and English both for admission and for degrees. (§ 443.)
7. We recommend that Canadian universities expand their studies in the fields of the humanities and the social sciences relating to particular areas other than those related to the English and French languages. (§ 458.)
8. We recommend that the CRTC remove restrictions on private broadcasting in languages other than English and French, except those restrictions necessary to meet the administrative and legal responsibilities of the licensees and those that also apply to English- and French-language programmes. (§ 538.)
9. We recommend that the CBC recognize the place of languages other than English and French in Canadian life and that the CBC remove its proscription on the use of other languages in broadcasting. (§ 539.)
10. We recommend that the CRTC undertake studies in the field of broadcasting in other languages to determine the best means by which radio and television can contribute to the maintenance of languages and cultures and that the CBC participate in these studies. We further recommend that these studies include pilot projects on either AM or FM radio in both Montreal and Toronto. (§ 542.)
11. We recommend that research be undertaken through the CRTC concerning the nature and effects of the portrayal of other cultural groups on both publicly- and privately-owned English- and French-language radio and television stations. (§ 546.)
12. We recommend that the National Film Board undertake to publicize the fact that it produces prints of many of its films in languages other than English and French, particularly in regions where there are concentrations of persons who speak languages other than English and French. In addition, we recommend that the voluntary associations of cultural groups stimulate interest among their groups in the use of these films. (§ 553.)

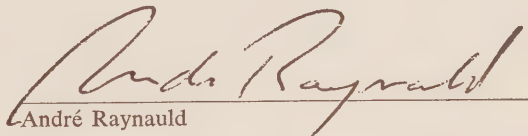
13. We recommend that the National Film Board continue and develop the production of films that inform Canadians about one another, including films about the contribution and problems of both individuals and groups of ethnic origin other than British and French, and that the National Film Board receive the financial support it requires in order to produce such films. (§ 555.)
14. We recommend that the appropriate federal, provincial, and municipal agencies receive the financial means they require to maintain and extend their support to cultural and research organizations whose objectives are to foster the arts and letters of cultural groups other than the British and French. (§ 642.)
15. We recommend that the administrative costs of the Canadian Folk Arts Council or a similar body be provided for out of public funds through the Citizenship Branch of the Department of the Secretary of State. (§ 643.)
16. We recommend that the National Museum of Man be given adequate space and facilities and provided with sufficient funds to carry out its projects regarding the history, social organizations, and folk arts of cultural groups other than the British and French. (§ 646.)

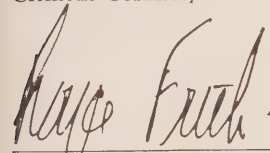
ALL OF WHICH WE RESPECTFULLY SUBMIT FOR
YOUR EXCELLENCY'S CONSIDERATION


Jean-Louis Gagnon


A. Davidson Dunton


Clément Cormier, c.s.c.

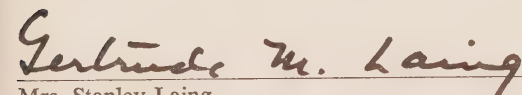

André Raynauld

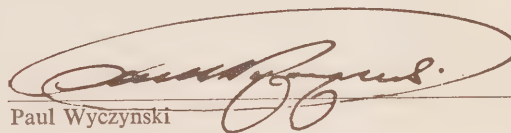

Royce Frith


Jaroslav Bohdan Rudnycky



Paul Lacoste

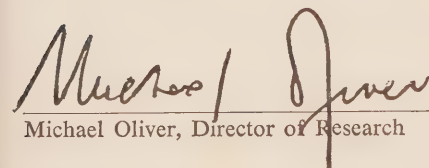

F. R. Scott


Mrs. Stanley Laing


Paul Wyczynski


Peter C. Findlay, Co-Secretary


Gilles Lalonde, Co-Secretary


Michael Oliver, Director of Research


Léon Dion, Special Consultant on Research

October 23, 1969

P.C. 1963-1106

Certified to be a true copy of a Minute of a Meeting of the Committee of the Privy Council approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 19th July, 1963.

The Committee of the Privy Council, on the recommendation of the Right Honourable L. B. Pearson, the Prime Minister, advise that

André Laurendeau,¹ Montreal, P.Q.
Davidson Dunton, Ottawa, Ont.
Rev. Clément Cormier, Moncton, N.B.
Royce Frith, Toronto, Ont.
Jean-Louis Gagnon, Montreal, P.Q.
Mrs. Stanley Laing, Calgary, Alta.
Jean Marchand,² Quebec City, P.Q.
Jaroslav Bodhan Rudnyckyj, Winnipeg, Man.
Frank Scott, Montreal, P.Q.
Paul Wyczynski, Ottawa, Ont.

be appointed Commissioners under Part I of the Inquiries Act to inquire into and report upon the existing state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada and to recommend what steps should be taken to develop the Canadian Confederation on the basis of an equal partnership between the two founding races, taking into account the contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada and the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution; and in particular

¹ André Laurendeau died on June 1, 1968. On October 8, 1968, Jean-Louis Gagnon was appointed Co-Chairman and André Raynauld was appointed a member of the Commission.

² The resignation of Jean Marchand from the Commission was accepted on September 21, 1965. On November 22 of that year Paul Lacoste, formerly one of the Co-Secretaries of the Commission, was appointed to fill the vacancy created by M. Marchand's resignation. On May 1, 1966 Prof. Gilles Lalonde of the University of Montreal was appointed Co-Secretary.

1. to report upon the situation and practice of bilingualism within all branches and agencies of the federal administration—including Crown corporations—and in their communications with the public and to make recommendations designed to ensure the bilingual and basically bicultural character of the federal administration;

2. to report on the role of public and private organizations, including the mass communications media, in promoting bilingualism, better cultural relations and a more widespread appreciation of the basically bicultural character of our country and of the subsequent contribution made by the other cultures; and to recommend what should be done to improve that role; and

3. having regard to the fact that constitutional jurisdiction over education is vested in the provinces, to discuss with the provincial governments the opportunities available to Canadians to learn the English and French languages and to recommend what could be done to enable Canadians to become bilingual.

The Committee further advise:

- (a) that the Commissioners be authorized to exercise all the powers conferred upon them by section 11 of the Inquiries Act and be assisted to the fullest extent by Government departments and agencies;
- (b) that the Commissioners adopt such procedures and methods as they may from time to time deem expedient for the proper conduct of the inquiry and sit at such times and at such places as they may decide from time to time;
- (c) that the Commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisers as they may require at rates of remuneration and reimbursement to be approved by the Treasury Board;
- (d) that the Commissioners report to the Governor in Council with all reasonable despatch, and file with the Dominion Archivist the papers and records of the Commission as soon as reasonably may be after the conclusion of the inquiry.
- (e) that André Laurendeau and Davidson Dunton be co-Chairmen of the Commission and André Laurendeau be Chief Executive Officer thereof.

R. G. ROBERTSON

Clerk of the Privy Council

In undertaking its examination of those whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French, the Commission realized that much of the necessary research and data collection on this topic had never been done and that a substantial amount of basic information would have to be gathered and assessed. In order to make this information readily available to researchers, policy makers, and leaders of the other cultural groups, much of this basic data is presented in Appendix II.

Table A-1. Ethnic Origin of Immigrants—Canada, 1900-1965¹

Ethnic origin	1900-1901	1901-1902	1902-1903	1903-1904	1904-1905	1905-1906	1906-1907	1907-1908
Total	49,149	67,379	128,364	125,899	142,853	184,064	122,165	257,309
Albanian								
Arab ²	98	70	46	58	48	19	31	50
Armenian	62	112	113	81	78	82	208	563
Austrian ³	228	320	781	516	837	1,324	562	1,899
Belgian	132	223	303	858	796	1,106	650	1,214
British ⁴	11,813	17,275	42,198	51,029	65,887	87,741	57,099	123,940
Bulgarian		1	7	14	2	71	179	2,529
Chinese	7	2				18	92	1,884
Czech and Slovak								
Danish	88	163	308	417	461	474	297	290
Dutch	25	35	223	169	281	389	394	1,212
Egyptian	1	3	1	3	2	18	10	8
Estonian								
Finnish	682	1,292	1,734	845	1,323	1,103	1,049	1,212
French	360	431	937	1,534	1,743	1,648	1,314	2,671
German	984	1,048	1,887	2,985	2,759	1,796	1,889	2,363
Greek	81	161	193	191	98	254	545	1,053
Hungarian	546	1,048	2,074	1,091	981	739	499	1,307
Icelandic	912	260	917	396	413	168	46	97
Indian ⁵					45	387	2,124	2,623
Iranian		1	40	5	8	7	31	7
Italian	4,710	3,828	3,371	4,445	3,473	7,959	5,114	11,212
Japanese	6				354	1,922	2,042	7,601
Jewish	2,765	1,015	2,066	3,727	7,715	7,127	6,584	7,712
Latvian								
Lebanese ⁶								
Lithuanian								
Luxemburger								
Maltese			2					
Mexican								
Negro ⁷					5	42	108	136
Norwegian	265	1,015	1,746	1,239	1,397	1,415	876	1,554
Polish	4,702	6,550	8,656	8,398	7,671	6,381	2,685	15,861
Portuguese				2	2	8	7	3
Roumanian	152	551	438	619	270	396	431	949
Russian	1,044	2,479	5,505	1,955	1,911	3,152	1,927	6,281
Spanish	14	1	7	5	10	12	29	61
Swedish	485	1,013	2,477	2,151	1,847	1,802	1,077	2,132
Swiss	30	17	73	128	150	172	112	195
Syrian	464	1,066	847	369	630	336	277	732
Turkish	37	17	43	29	30	357	232	489
Ukrainian					3	266	303	912
Yugoslav ⁸	23		1,761	1,588	1,130	1,374	233	2,193
Others	446	994	137	313	563	1,203	870	1,079
From the United States ⁹	17,987	26,388	49,473	40,739	39,930	52,796	32,239	53,285

Source: Division of Immigration, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

¹Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, calendar years from 1908 to 1965.

²Excludes those of Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese origin.

³Included with those of German origin from 1926 to 1952.

⁴Includes those of English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish origin, immigrants from Newfoundland (before 1949), Bermuda, and the British West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, etc.).

Ethnic origin	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
Total	143,326	173,694	286,839	331,288	375,756	400,870	150,484	36,665
Albanian						1	6	
Arab ²	7	13	7	1	11	12	4	
Armenian	111	76	20	44	109	137	57	
Austrian ³	1,758	3,337	8,523	4,987	1,231	3,232	626	14
Belgian	775	894	1,305	1,705	1,669	2,766	1,495	224
British ⁴	58,512	56,148	115,855	147,770	147,619	158,398	50,755	9,907
Bulgarian	63	495	985	1,664	6,388	1,270	4,512	1
Chinese	2,163	1,883	4,657	6,644	6,992	6,298	1,600	82
Czech and Slovak	58	123	217	282	352	447	172	
Danish	146	254	476	602	848	868	419	163
Dutch	480	570	1,036	1,080	1,359	1,710	735	182
Egyptian	2	2			7	2	3	
Estonian								
Finnish	453	1,348	2,262	1,637	2,135	3,508	637	91
French	1,944	1,633	1,980	2,169	2,673	2,668	1,568	191
German	1,386	1,405	2,440	4,297	5,025	5,710	3,006	34
Greek	174	461	784	584	1,523	898	1,506	124
Hungarian	453	692	992	703	1,210	2,113	562	
Icelandic	33	85	244	219	215	306	150	15
Indian ⁵	296	5		3	5	88		1
Iranian	5	5	14	19	24	19	8	
Italian	4,006	6,919	8,181	7,218	14,265	27,704	7,365	365
Japanese	858	244	420	727	675	886	681	380
Jewish	2,504	2,779	5,060	5,044	6,885	11,574	4,279	73
Latvian								
Lebanese ⁶								
Lithuanian								
Luxemburger								
Maltese					46	483	20	1
Mexican					12	9		
Negro ⁷	76	7	70	138	211	264	200	36
Norwegian	654	1,285	2,019	1,829	1,798	1,698	967	196
Polish	7,346	4,092	5,454	6,028	10,077	13,339	2,373	7
Portuguese	2	5	25	8	8	62	14	
Roumanian	368	307	442	761	1,136	1,530	442	5
Russian	3,415	4,131	6,736	8,030	15,843	28,758	6,606	43
Spanish	38	33	170	222	239	1,181	781	9
Swedish	1,015	1,905	3,065	2,589	2,330	2,671	1,086	152
Swiss	122	165	304	235	221	291	240	49
Syrian	173	213	98	146	208	299	94	6
Turkish	149	458	600	415	993	169	60	
Ukrainian	234	274	2,874	10,631	19,222	18,907	6,504	
Yugoslav ⁸	1,708	860	886	664	1,981	2,747	657	4
Others	89	179	338	165	116	135	81	13
From the United States ⁹	51,750	80,409	108,300	112,028	120,095	97,712	50,213	24,297

⁵Includes immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.

⁶Included with those of Syrian origin until 1955.

⁷Except from the United States.

⁸Includes those of Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene origin.

⁹Not divided by ethnic origin.

Table A-1. Ethnic Origin of Immigrants—Canada, 1900-1965¹ (cont'd.)

Ethnic origin	1916	1917	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923
Total	55,914	72,910	41,845	107,698	138,824	91,728	64,224	133,729
Albanian					2	6	1	6
Arab ²					6	11	4	
Armenian	3	2		7	50	79	43	404
Austrian ³	1			3	25	12	20	61
Belgian	84	65	29	885	2,191	578	300	1,368
British ⁴	10,140	4,114	5,396	57,929	77,160	44,367	32,604	75,501
Bulgarian				1	4	26	15	163
Chinese	313	547	2,988	2,085	1,329	2,732	810	811
Czech and Slovak					276	155	123	1,934
Danish	165	71	38	189	478	603	297	1,025
Dutch	166	76	68	120	575	240	118	798
Egyptian					9	7		3
Estonian							12	33
Finnish	276	129	15	25	1,198	460	654	
French	192	130	136	1,486	984	364	289	324
German	17	1		11	112	195	177	1,258
Greek	274	59	5	31	297	195	187	294
Hungarian					23	41	26	162
Icelandic	10	3	10	10	50	22	33	26
Indian ⁵					9	11	22	30
Iranian	3		2	2	1	9	1	5
Italian	713	327	60	717	3,927	2,508	2,030	6,062
Japanese	553	887	1,036	892	525	481	395	404
Jewish	137	38	25	74	1,335	8,731	3,385	9,494
Latvian								18
Lebanese ⁶							119	204
Lithuanian							7	45
Luxemburger				16	16	1		
Maltese	92	164	2	391	154	61	50	151
Mexican		1		3	1			1
Negro ⁷	95	38	22	59	142	41	47	40
Norwegian	359	230	71	176	412	489	448	1,670
Polish	15		2	24	3,544	2,853	2,758	4,157
Portuguese		2		3	4		2	965
Roumanian	4			10	702	952	440	
Russian	26	32	45	44	963	420	168	2,852
Spanish	68	38	12	19	202	9	20	39
Swedish	360	166	96	188	645	509	666	3,295
Swiss	29	14	9	86	211	205	114	1,527
Syrian	2	10		9	395	153	88	235
Turkish	5				9		5	10
Ukrainian	1				478	93	38	816
Yugoslav ⁸	5		1	11	72	151	137	714
Others	27	29	8	63	120	70	37	108
From the United States ⁹	41,779	65,739	31,769	42,129	40,188	23,888	17,534	16,716

Source: Division of Immigration, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

¹Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, calendar years from 1908 to 1965.

²Excludes those of Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese origin.

³Included with those of German origin from 1926 to 1952.

⁴Includes those of English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish origin, immigrants from Newfoundland (before 1949), Bermuda and the British West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, etc.).

Ethnic origin	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
Total	124,164	84,907	135,982	158,886	166,783	164,993	104,806	27,530
Albanian	2	11	11	35	31	21	32	5
Arab ²		5	8	7		4	5	1
Armenian	338	152	66	55	11	16	27	5
Austrian ³	97	56						
Belgian	1,504	965	1,842	2,369	1,261	862	329	54
British ⁴	59,680	35,457	48,819	52,940	55,848	66,801	31,709	7,678
Bulgarian	170		87	240	265	301	353	14
Chinese	7			2	1	1		
Czech and Slovak	2,872	1,908	4,826	5,010	5,534	3,046	2,857	407
Danish	2,066	983	1,467	3,778	3,732	2,852	1,184	65
Dutch	1,821	1,020	1,643	2,066	1,569	1,252	1,110	38
Egyptian	3							
Estonian	65	27	77	110	107	98	83	8
Finnish	6,123	1,561	4,721	5,054	3,674	4,614	2,749	100
French	351	457	521	875	675	775	424	94
German	2,560	6,560	10,943	12,689	14,089	13,907	10,602	797
Greek	215	214	274	557	685	684	530	23
Hungarian	1,107	2,741	5,182	5,781	6,265	5,375	3,279	493
Icelandic	48	50	31	28	26	8	25	
Indian ⁵	49	57	68	56	55	49	80	52
Iranian	10	19	4	6	1	1	1	1
Italian	2,676	1,652	2,539	4,440	849	1,243	1,104	467
Japanese	510	424	443	511	535	179	217	174
Jewish	5,428	2,637	4,441	4,744	3,532	3,353	3,702	214
Latvian	20	23	54	74	74	77	33	1
Lebanese ⁶								
Lithuanian	155	87	779	880	1,783	934	612	59
Luxemburger	70	5						
Maltese	29	13	34	37	25	40	16	5
Mexican			1					
Negro ⁷	34	57	50	89	92	186	136	14
Norwegian	3,216	841	2,607	5,102	2,241	2,549	1,049	66
Polish	2,908	1,952	5,359	8,248	8,319	6,197	4,968	560
Portuguese	3	2	15	5	13	14	5	
Roumanian	2,471	338	317	221	283	344	245	28
Russian	5,545	881	1,074	1,092	957	674	1,017	71
Spanish	3	60	32	28	22	29	7	11
Swedish	2,550	1,218	2,324	3,164	3,424	3,073	1,022	62
Swiss	758	277	503	681	473	510	257	37
Syrian	253	127	221	101	41	55	67	15
Turkish	43	21	4	8	2	6	8	1
Ukrainian	49	2,196	9,468	10,836	16,039	10,973	8,045	503
Yugoslav ⁸	2,183	2,132	4,182	3,149	4,377	2,038	1,285	212
Others	130	4	1					
From the United States ⁹	16,042	17,717	20,944	23,818	29,933	31,852	25,632	15,195

⁵Includes immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.

⁶Included with those of Syrian origin until 1955.

⁷Except from the United States.

⁸Includes those of Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene origin.

⁹Not divided by ethnic origin.

Table A-1. Ethnic Origin of Immigrants—Canada, 1900-1965¹ (cont'd.)

Ethnic origin	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Total	20,591	14,382	12,476	11,277	11,643	15,101	17,244	16,994
Albanian			4	1	4	8	10	4
Arab ²	2		1			3	3	2
Armenian	1	7		3	5	4	4	2
Austrian ³								
Belgian	40	26	62	80	85	98	177	153
British ⁴	3,327	2,304	2,166	2,103	2,197	2,859	3,389	3,544
Bulgarian	12	12	5	12	21	31	25	23
Chinese	1	1	1			1		
Czech and Slovak	332	452	656	512	684	35	1,684	967
Danish	49	46	23	22	22	1,348	45	78
Dutch	30	25	49	73	115	108	200	306
Egyptian								
Estonian		1	2	3	5	2	9	6
Finnish	32	45	63	38	50	73	67	63
French	90	76	79	90	136	128	139	159
German	562	389	304	230	315	541	588	1,071
Greek	34	29	39	49	73	97	121	128
Hungarian	311	484	427	319	320	555	596	360
Icelandic	1			7		3		
Indian ⁵	61	35	33	26	12	11	9	19
Iranian	1				1	2		
Italian	280	253	320	333	298	416	367	202
Japanese	119	106	125	70	103	146	57	44
Jewish	313	420	577	560	449	317	456	1,467
Latvian	3	3	1	2	3	9	6	1
Lebanese ⁶								
Lithuanian	43	42	43	19	41	41	39	51
Luxemburger								
Maltese	2				4	2	1	
Mexican					6	1	2	
Negro ⁷	9	16	9	3	4	9	5	10
Norwegian	54	29	34	27	35	22	28	38
Polish	379	360	392	405	378	632	570	381
Portuguese	2	1	3	3	2	3	1	1
Roumanian	31	27	40	38	59	82	109	23
Russian	74	63	47	84	73	125	151	129
Spanish	7	11	8	6	10	17	7	1
Swedish	34	13	15	26	15	44	18	14
Swiss	17	21	15	38	44	92	50	75
Syrian	20	13	13	26	19	12	22	14
Turkish		2			1	1		
Ukrainian	438	378	563	476	801	1,206	1,880	1,753
Yugoslav ⁸	171	192	286	302	377	462	576	256
Others								
From the United States ⁹	13,709	8,500	6,071	5,291	4,876	5,555	5,833	5,649

Source: Division of Immigration, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

¹Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, calendar years from 1908 to 1965.

²Excludes those of Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese origin.

³Included with those of German origin from 1926 to 1952.

⁴Includes those of English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish origin, immigrants from Newfoundland (before 1949), Bermuda, and the British West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, etc.).

Ethnic origin	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Total	11,324	9,329	7,576	8,504	12,801	22,722	71,719	64,127
Albanian								2
Arab ²								1
Armenian	3		1			3	11	8
Austrian ³								
Belgian	32	13		6	10	15	724	843
British ⁴	3,021	2,300	2,259	3,834	7,713	14,677	51,408	38,747
Bulgarian	1							6
Chinese							8	20
Czech and Slovak	79	17	12	7	12	44	206	261
Danish	21	7	5	6	13	21	83	195
Dutch	67	18	7	10	21	60	2,146	3,192
Egyptian								
Estonian	1	1	1	2	1	7	8	282
Finnish	3	1			1	6	22	43
French	119	116	67	129	234	454	1,767	523
German	53	21	13	11	42	98	449	300
Greek	49	3	1	1	3	18	61	659
Hungarian	77	6		2	15	16	83	96
Icelandic			1		2	2	15	8
Indian ⁵	6	1	3			1	4	116
Iranian	1				1		2	5
Italian	93	2		3	15	43	145	139
Japanese	43	4					1	
Jewish	329	132	41	44	74	347		
Latvian	3			2		2	5	448
Lebanese ⁶								
Lithuanian	8		1	2	4	3	19	1,273
Luxemburger								
Maltese		1			1	5	12	16
Mexican				1	1	2	2	3
Negro ⁷	29	29	4	3	18	50	125	94
Norwegian	24	8	25	6	15	69	269	178
Polish	19	16	5	6	32	249	565	2,610
Portuguese	4	5	3	2	6	8	38	25
Roumanian	8	2		2	3	3	19	29
Russian	10	12	7	5	8	40	154	234
Spanish	28	8	7	8	14	22	57	46
Swedish	8	2	5	3	5	21	86	63
Swiss	12	8	9	5	9	10	72	148
Syrian	1	2		1	6	12	11	25
Turkish				1			6	1
Ukrainian	3				8	12	114	2,044
Yugoslav ⁸	35		1	1	3	8	26	146
Others					2		10	2
From the United States ⁹	7,134	6,594	5,098	4,401	4,509	6,394	11,469	9,440

⁵Includes immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.
⁶Included with those of Syrian origin until 1955.
⁷Except from the United States.
⁸Includes those of Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene origin.
⁹Not divided by ethnic origin.

Table A-1. Ethnic Origin of Immigrants—Canada, 1900-1965¹

Ethnic origin	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Total	125,414	95,217	73,912	194,391	164,498	168,868	154,227	109,946	164,857
Albanian	20	51	28	54	16	14	25	21	5
Arab ²	5	25	28	52	69	17	14	56	86
Armenian	10	7	35	80	71	70	68	131	181
Austrian ³						3,574	3,841	1,779	2,948
Belgian	1,071	714	457	2,638	1,349	1,431	1,328	988	2,127
British ⁴	46,057	22,201	13,427	31,370	42,675	47,077	44,593	30,150	51,319
Bulgarian	68	78	85	360	109	54	48	39	30
Chinese	74	797	1,741	2,697	2,313	1,929	1,950	2,575	2,093
Czech and Slovak	1,433	2,076	1,441	3,142	949	543	295	252	297
Danish	616	863	905	4,613	2,056	1,562	1,399	1,393	3,642
Dutch	10,169	7,782	7,404	19,130	21,213	20,472	16,340	6,929	7,956
Egyptian								17	10
Estonian	1,903	2,945	1,949	4,573	934	451	290	186	162
Finnish	200	236	483	4,130	2,293	1,232	697	632	1,094
French	1,074	1,021	1,188	6,193	4,212	3,136	2,813	2,225	3,106
German	3,051	5,988	5,825	32,395	28,257	35,015	29,845	18,082	26,457
Greek	712	719	866	2,885	1,691	2,059	2,892	3,014	5,236
Hungarian	1,130	1,633	1,577	4,376	1,435	858	502	427	4,274
Icelandic	3	14	13	18	35	53	39	19	41
Indian ⁵	67	51	77	97	168	139	175	245	330
Iranian	1	2	2	7	10	18	10	13	10
Italian	3,202	7,742	9,059	24,351	21,383	24,293	24,595	20,247	29,806
Japanese	5	11	11	3	6	46	71	97	120
Jewish									1,632
Latvian	3,073	2,847	1,767	2,789	1,437	550	456	340	334
Lebanese ⁶								206	408
Lithuanian	4,336	2,248	960	1,330	762	278	246	158	190
Luxemburger								37	153
Maltese	715	240	840	1,600	692	745	935	349	378
Mexican	4		2	12	6	6	4	6	23
Negro ⁷	125	132	90	91	105	167	167	310	504
Norwegian	355	355	237	896	1,209	939	993	709	842
Polish	13,799	12,233	6,612	12,938	5,485	3,176	2,274	1,886	2,269
Portuguese	51	66	87	157	256	555	1,324	1,427	1,971
Roumanian	534	391	392	995	388	269	214	93	137
Russian	1,406	885	604	2,273	1,072	485	355	241	234
Spanish	70	51	67	671	312	257	207	289	532
Swedish	137	172	139	798	503	435	306	271	387
Swiss	281	294	409	1,061	1,274	826	961	597	1,044
Syrian	31	72	86	208	209	190	233	95	67
Turkish	3	1	9	19	18	35	25	18	48
Ukrainian	10,011	6,570	3,769	6,894	2,821	908	692	516	540
Yugoslav ⁸	2,845	1,460	1,013	4,144	2,176	1,999	1,541	1,375	1,993
Others		1		20	46	43	20	30	64
From the United States ⁹	7,381	7,744	7,799	7,732	9,306	9,379	10,110	10,392	9,777

Source: Division of Immigration, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

¹Fiscal years from 1900-1901 to 1907-1908, calendar years from 1908-1965.

²Excludes those of Egyptian, Syrian, and Lebanese origin.

³Included with those of German origin from 1926 to 1952.

⁴Includes those of English, Irish, Welsh, and Scottish origin, immigrants from Newfoundland (before 1949), Bermuda, and the British West Indies (Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbados, etc.).

Ethnic origin	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
Total	282,164	124,851	106,928	104,111	71,689	74,586	93,151	112,606	146,758
Albanian	22	13	18	33	43	27	51	20	24
Arab ²	87	69	60	81	58	65	153	205	260
Armenian	272	189	231	143	176	769	899	841	871
Austrian ³	2,293	905	748	953	583	445	538	671	766
Belgian	2,786	1,000	814	739	707	516	509	674	650
British ⁴	112,828	26,622	19,361	20,853	13,295	16,635	25,256	29,928	39,523
Bulgarian	59	15	44	42	25	17	23	32	73
Chinese	1,662	2,615	2,561	1,370	861	826	1,502	3,176	5,182
Czech and Slovak	307	139	112	133	96	81	77	162	207
Danish	7,790	1,799	1,372	1,126	484	606	612	739	895
Dutch	12,310	7,595	5,354	5,598	1,960	1,681	1,812	2,061	2,628
Egyptian	52	19	16	12	7	62	241	379	423
Estonian	221	122	88	134	52	51	63	44	59
Finnish	2,829	1,258	890	993	350	340	285	415	580
French	5,471	2,539	1,797	2,179	1,731	2,109	2,559	3,155	3,367
German	29,564	14,449	10,781	10,792	6,191	5,118	4,906	5,128	7,454
Greek	5,631	5,418	4,965	5,009	3,858	4,164	5,554	5,127	6,630
Hungarian	29,825	2,723	1,044	1,207	734	759	902	987	1,212
Icelandic	56	43	23	12	5	1	12	16	3
Indian ⁵	324	451	716	673	744	814	1,301	2,167	3,784
Iranian	24	13	8	13	18	28	41	35	137
Italian	29,443	28,564	26,822	21,308	14,630	14,181	15,887	21,091	28,893
Japanese	178	188	191	159	116	134	174	137	203
Jewish	5,472	2,290	2,686	2,385	1,510	1,349	1,697	2,636	2,269
Latvian	415	186	123	141	98	56	72	48	81
Lebanese ⁶	348	244	279	225	200	422	579	624	748
Lithuanian	168	140	87	80	86	34	46	49	54
Luxemburger	124	26	12	12	8	13	21	12	9
Maltese	654	473	422	481	207	364	895	1,191	1,130
Mexican	15	29	21	38	22	18	14	22	38
Negro ⁷	634	781	989	1,013	1,020	1,377	2,270	2,470	3,853
Norwegian	1,337	471	354	341	180	208	288	289	346
Polish	2,909	2,996	3,733	3,182	2,753	1,956	1,866	2,399	2,566
Portuguese	4,748	2,177	4,354	5,258	2,976	3,398	4,689	6,090	7,040
Roumanian	206	130	148	174	135	143	153	135	127
Russian	375	196	140	158	109	112	108	132	174
Spanish	1,182	639	531	758	768	739	1,351	1,498	1,792
Swedish	763	282	248	227	111	144	160	213	234
Swiss	1,294	793	612	742	591	584	588	737	1,100
Syrian	76	21	49	19	36	109	80	164	227
Turkish	91	99	82	122	129	130	285	325	521
Ukrainian	494	351	295	298	128	122	164	154	230
Yugoslav ⁸	5,725	4,868	2,304	3,517	2,266	1,965	2,383	3,055	3,151
Others	92	65	105	131	116	271	349	608	2,101
From the United States ⁹	11,008	10,846	11,338	11,247	11,516	11,643	11,736	12,565	15,143

⁵Includes immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Ceylon.
⁶Included with those of Syrian origin until 1955.
⁷Except from the United States.
⁸Includes those of Croatian, Macedonian, Serbian, and Slovene origin.
⁹Not divided by ethnic origin.

Table A-2. Distribution of Immigrants in the Provinces and Selected Metropolitan Census Areas, by Period of Immigration—Canada, 1961

	Total	Before 1921	1921- 1930	1931- 1940	1941- 1945	1946- 1950	1951- 1955	1956- 1957	1958- 1959	1960- 1961*
Canada ¹	2,844,263	772,030	444,969	87,703	32,445	303,984	567,190	329,586	188,340	118,016
Newfoundland	6,269	798	558	339	338	1,317	1,230	774	456	459
Prince Edward Island	2,992	725	445	217	117	439	452	227	216	154
Nova Scotia	34,168	9,759	4,993	2,165	1,079	4,434	5,281	2,684	1,978	1,795
New Brunswick	23,283	6,495	4,001	1,451	886	3,184	2,887	1,704	1,408	1,267
Quebec	388,449	74,476	46,688	14,202	5,321	38,452	87,873	55,648	39,833	25,956
Ontario	1,353,157	264,366	198,339	41,959	15,190	169,044	323,528	181,281	99,339	60,111
Manitoba	169,998	70,289	31,469	4,259	1,483	15,925	21,134	12,741	7,431	5,267
Saskatchewan	149,389	85,590	30,602	3,170	1,034	8,124	9,497	5,488	3,359	2,525
Alberta	288,749	101,087	55,237	8,446	2,420	25,326	48,263	25,398	13,657	8,915
British Columbia	423,132	157,808	71,982	11,300	4,498	37,296	65,947	42,796	20,239	11,266
Montreal	204,282	33,342	22,020	5,980	2,056	18,721	46,877	32,158	26,541	16,587
Toronto	281,877	47,354	30,746	5,982	2,025	30,073	68,247	46,283	32,336	18,831
Winnipeg	75,715	27,404	12,123	1,494	551	7,838	11,230	7,318	4,545	3,212

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-548.

* Includes figures for 1960 and the first five months of 1961.

¹ Includes the Yukon and the Northwest Territories.

Table A-3. Ethnic Origin of the Canadian Population, 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total ²	3,485,761	4,324,810	5,371,315	7,206,643	8,787,949	10,376,786	11,506,655	14,009,429	18,238,247
British	2,110,502	2,548,514	3,063,195	3,999,081	4,868,738	5,381,071	5,715,904	6,709,685	7,996,669
French	1,082,940	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,061,719	2,452,743	2,927,990	3,483,038	4,319,167	5,540,346
Dutch	29,662	30,412	33,845	55,961	117,505	148,962	212,863	264,267	429,679
German	202,991	254,319	310,501	403,417	294,635	473,544	464,682	619,995	1,049,599
Italian	1,035	1,849	10,834	45,963	66,769	98,173	112,625	152,245	450,351
Jewish	125	667	16,131	76,199	126,196	156,726	170,241	181,670	173,344
Polish			6,285	33,652	53,403	145,503	167,485	219,845	323,517
Russian	607	1,227	19,825	44,376	100,064	88,148	83,708	91,279	119,168
Scandinavian	1,623	5,223	31,042	112,682	167,359	228,049	244,603	283,024	386,534
Ukrainian			5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113	305,929	395,043	473,337
Other European	3,830	5,760	23,811	97,101	214,451	261,034	281,790	346,354	711,320
Asiatic	4	4,383	23,731	43,213	65,914	84,548	74,064	72,827	121,753
Indian and Eskimo	23,037	108,547	127,941	105,611	113,724	128,890	125,521	165,607	220,121
Others and not stated	29,405	64,980	49,121	52,236	39,727	29,035	64,202	188,421	242,509

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

² For 1871 includes the population of the four original provinces of Canada only: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Newfoundland is excluded until 1951.

Table A-4. Ethnic Origin of the Canadian Population (percentages), 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total ²	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	60.55	58.93	57.04	55.49	55.41	51.86	49.68	47.89	43.85
French	31.07	30.03	30.71	28.61	27.91	28.22	30.27	30.83	30.38
Dutch	0.85	0.70	0.63	0.78	1.34	1.44	1.85	1.89	2.36
German	5.82	5.88	5.78	5.60	3.35	4.56	4.04	4.43	5.75
Italian	0.03	0.04	0.20	0.64	0.76	0.95	0.98	1.09	2.47
Jewish	*	0.02	0.30	1.06	1.44	1.51	1.48	1.30	0.95
Polish			0.12	0.47	0.61	1.40	1.45	1.57	1.77
Russian	0.02	0.03	0.37	0.61	1.14	0.85	0.73	0.65	0.65
Scandinavian	0.05	0.12	0.58	1.56	1.90	2.20	2.12	2.02	2.12
Ukrainian			0.10	1.05	1.21	2.17	2.66	2.82	2.59
Other European	0.11	0.13	0.44	1.35	2.44	2.51	2.45	2.47	3.90
Asiatic	*	0.10	0.44	0.60	0.75	0.81	0.64	0.52	0.67
Indian and Eskimo	0.66	2.51	2.38	1.46	1.29	1.24	1.09	1.18	1.21
Others and not stated	0.84	1.51	0.91	0.72	0.45	0.28	0.56	1.34	1.33

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

² For 1871 includes the population of the four original provinces of Canada only: Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. Newfoundland is excluded until 1951.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-5. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Prince Edward Island, 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	108,891	103,259	93,728	88,615	88,038	95,047	98,429	104,629
British	95,916	87,883	79,266	75,627	73,758	78,714	80,669	83,501
French	10,751	13,866	13,124	11,971	12,962	14,799	15,477	17,418
Dutch	292	242	213	239	300	494	677	1,288
German	1,076	709	550	260	282	172	317	664
Italian	21	12	23	26	28	35	56	103
Jewish		17	39	21	20	25	21	15
Polish						1	54	82
Russian	12	5		1		2	12	14
Scandinavian	38	14	32	34	162	152	253	427
Ukrainian			4			2	47	66
Other European	2	7	49	16	25	24	108	200
Asiatic		49	29	98	166	228	279	295
Indian and Eskimo	281	258	248	235	233	258	257	236
Others and not stated	502	197	151	87	102	141	202	320

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-6. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Prince Edward Island (percentages), 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	88.08	85.11	84.57	85.34	83.78	82.81	81.95	79.81
French	9.87	13.43	14.00	13.51	14.72	15.57	15.72	16.65
Dutch	0.27	0.23	0.23	0.27	0.34	0.52	0.69	1.23
German	0.99	0.69	0.59	0.29	0.32	0.18	0.32	0.64
Italian	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.10
Jewish		0.02	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.01
Polish						*	0.06	0.08
Russian	0.01	*		*		*	0.01	0.01
Scandinavian	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.18	0.16	0.26	0.41
Ukrainian			*			*	0.05	0.06
Other European	*	0.01	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.11	0.19
Asiatic		0.05	0.03	0.11	0.19	0.24	0.28	0.28
Indian and Eskimo	0.26	0.25	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.22
Others and not stated	0.46	0.19	0.16	0.10	0.12	0.15	0.21	0.31

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-7. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Nova Scotia, 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	387,800	440,572	459,574	492,338	523,837	512,846	577,962	642,584	737,007
British	308,224	342,238	359,064	380,205	407,618	391,878	445,178	482,571	525,448
French	32,833	41,219	45,161	51,919	56,619	56,629	66,260	73,760	87,883
Dutch	2,868	2,197	2,941	4,185	11,506	13,412	23,834	20,819	25,251
German	31,942	40,065	41,020	38,894	27,046	27,098	15,038	28,751	45,441
Italian	152	153	285	963	1,620	1,897	2,304	2,494	3,719
Jewish		32	449	1,360	2,161	2,046	2,285	2,053	1,672
Polish			15	535	980	1,488	2,206	2,364	3,106
Russian	28	30	53	564	520	575	534	699	804
Scandinavian	283	735	696	916	1,333	1,853	2,353	3,193	5,731
Ukrainian				292	389	871	711	1,235	1,763
Other European	2,050	2,210	1,404	2,308	3,800	3,617	3,836	4,260	7,244
Asiatic	3		363	675	1,500	1,559	1,927	2,266	2,979
Indian and Eskimo	1,666	2,125	1,629	1,915	2,048	2,191	2,067	2,702	3,271
Others and not stated	7,751	9,568	6,494	7,607	6,697	7,732	9,429	15,399	22,695

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-8. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Nova Scotia (percentages), 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	79.48	77.68	78.13	77.22	77.81	76.42	77.02	75.09	71.30
French	8.47	9.36	9.83	10.54	10.81	11.04	11.46	11.48	11.92
Dutch	0.74	0.50	0.64	0.85	2.20	2.62	4.13	3.24	3.43
German	8.24	9.09	8.93	7.90	5.16	5.28	2.60	4.47	6.17
Italian	0.04	0.03	0.06	0.20	0.31	0.37	0.40	0.39	0.50
Jewish		0.01	0.10	0.28	0.41	0.40	0.40	0.32	0.23
Polish			*	0.11	0.18	0.29	0.38	0.37	0.42
Russian	*	0.01	0.01	0.11	0.10	0.11	0.09	0.11	0.11
Scandinavian	0.07	0.17	0.15	0.19	0.25	0.36	0.41	0.50	0.78
Ukrainian				0.06	0.07	0.17	0.12	0.19	0.24
Other European	0.53	0.50	0.31	0.57	0.73	0.70	0.66	0.66	0.98
Asiatic	*		0.08	0.14	0.29	0.30	0.33	0.35	0.40
Indian and Eskimo	0.43	0.48	0.35	0.39	0.39	0.43	0.36	0.42	0.44
Others and not stated	2.00	2.17	1.41	1.54	1.28	1.51	1.63	2.40	3.08

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-9. Ethnic Origin of the Population of New Brunswick, 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	285,594	321,233	331,120	351,889	387,876	408,219	457,401	515,697	597,936
British	226,195	245,974	237,524	238,160	253,002	255,567	276,758	294,694	329,940
French	44,907	56,635	79,979	98,795	121,111	136,999	163,934	197,631	232,127
Dutch	6,004	4,373	3,663	4,380	3,638	3,602	4,539	5,920	7,882
German	4,478	6,310	3,816	3,187	1,698	2,659	1,394	2,623	7,386
Italian	40	59	60	392	367	405	455	635	1,210
Jewish	3	22	395	1,027	1,243	1,262	1,228	1,095	859
Polish			3	69	65	121	233	340	633
Russian	1	26	63	39	185	148	169	220	305
Scandinavian	200	932	1,292	1,491	2,142	2,625	2,929	3,367	4,901
Ukrainian				4	3	12	22	129	379
Other European	288	244	253	381	556	794	996	1,155	2,575
Asiatic			252	336	807	873	836	903	1,343
Indian and Eskimo	1,403	1,401	1,465	1,542	1,331	1,685	1,939	2,255	2,921
Others and not stated	2,075	5,257	2,355	2,086	1,728	1,467	1,969	4,730	5,475

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-10. Ethnic Origin of the Population of New Brunswick (percentages), 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	79.20	76.57	71.73	67.69	65.22	62.61	60.51	57.14	55.18
French	15.73	17.63	24.15	28.08	31.22	33.57	35.84	38.32	38.82
Dutch	2.10	1.36	1.11	1.24	0.94	0.88	0.99	1.15	1.32
German	1.57	1.96	1.15	0.91	0.44	0.65	0.30	0.51	1.24
Italian	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.11	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.12	0.20
Jewish	■	*	0.12	0.29	0.32	0.31	0.27	0.21	0.14
Polish			■	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.07	0.11
Russian	*	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05
Scandinavian	0.07	0.29	0.39	0.42	0.55	0.64	0.64	0.65	0.82
Ukrainian				*	*	*	0.01	0.03	0.06
Other European	0.10	0.08	0.08	0.11	0.14	0.19	0.22	0.22	0.43
Asiatic							0.18	0.18	0.22
Indian and Eskimo	0.49	0.44	0.44	0.44	0.34	0.41	0.42	0.44	0.49
Others and not stated	0.73	1.64	0.71	0.59	0.45	0.36	0.43	0.92	0.92

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-11. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Quebec, 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,648,898	2,005,776	2,360,510	2,874,662	3,331,882	4,055,681	5,259,211
British	243,041	260,538	290,169	318,799	356,943	432,729	452,887	491,818	567,057
French	929,817	1,073,820	1,322,115	1,606,535	1,889,269	2,270,059	2,695,032	3,327,128	4,241,354
Dutch	798	776	1,554	1,513	1,412	1,824	2,645	3,129	10,442
German	7,963	8,943	6,923	6,221	4,667	10,616	8,880	12,249	39,457
Italian	539	745	2,805	9,608	16,141	24,845	28,051	34,165	108,552
Jewish	74	330	7,607	30,758	49,977	60,087	66,277	73,019	74,677
Polish			274	3,233	3,264	9,534	10,036	16,998	30,790
Russian	186	300	41	1,481	2,802	3,574	3,433	7,909	13,694
Scandinavian	454	648	1,350	1,757	2,219	4,932	4,840	5,390	11,295
Ukrainian			6	458	1,176	4,340	8,006	12,921	16,588
Other European	322	429	2,053	4,996	9,204	28,398	26,977	35,078	96,112
Asiatic		7	1,600	2,343	5,218	7,034	7,119	7,714	14,801
Indian and Eskimo	6,988	7,515	10,142	11,997	11,234	13,875	13,641	16,620	21,343
Others and not stated	1,334	4,976	2,259	6,077	6,984	2,815	4,058	11,543	13,049

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-12. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Quebec (percentages), 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	20.40	19.17	17.60	15.89	15.12	15.05	13.59	12.13	10.78
French	78.04	79.01	80.19	80.10	80.03	78.97	80.89	82.04	80.65
Dutch	0.07	0.06	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.08	0.08	0.20
German	0.67	0.66	0.42	0.31	0.20	0.37	0.27	0.30	0.75
Italian	0.04	0.06	0.17	0.48	0.68	0.87	0.84	0.84	2.06
Jewish	*	0.02	0.46	1.53	2.12	2.09	1.99	1.80	1.42
Polish			0.02	0.16	0.14	0.33	0.30	0.42	0.59
Russian	0.01	0.02	*	0.07	0.12	0.12	0.10	0.19	0.26
Scandinavian	0.04	0.05	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.17	0.15	0.13	0.21
Ukrainian			*	0.02	0.05	0.15	0.24	0.32	0.31
Other European	0.03	0.03	0.12	0.25	0.39	0.99	0.81	0.87	1.83
Asiatic		*	0.10	0.12	0.22	0.25	0.21	0.19	0.28
Indian and Eskimo	0.59	0.55	0.61	0.60	0.48	0.48	0.41	0.41	0.41
Others and not stated	0.11	0.37	0.14	0.30	0.30	0.10	0.12	0.28	0.25

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-13. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Ontario, 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,182,947	2,527,292	2,933,662	3,431,683	3,787,655	4,597,542	6,236,092
British	1,333,042	1,549,160	1,732,144	1,950,980	2,282,015	2,539,771	2,729,830	3,081,919	3,711,536
French	75,383	103,004	158,671	203,668	248,275	299,732	373,990	477,677	647,941
Dutch	19,992	22,164	23,280	35,190	50,512	60,241	73,001	98,373	191,017
German	158,608	188,414	203,319	193,613	130,545	174,006	167,102	222,028	400,717
Italian	304	690	5,233	21,440	33,355	50,536	60,085	87,622	273,864
Jewish	48	254	5,337	27,224	47,798	62,383	69,875	74,920	65,280
Polish			2,918	10,631	15,787	42,384	54,893	89,825	149,524
Russian	392	794	432	4,161	8,605	10,050	11,218	16,885	28,327
Scandinavian									
Ukrainian	686	1,649	3,854	8,356	12,716	20,760	27,225	37,430	63,653
Other European			31	3,078	8,307	24,426	48,158	93,595	127,911
Asiatic	1,172	2,667	4,537	22,770	45,024	92,951	115,084	164,708	349,797
Indian and Eskimo	1	22	1,288	4,573	9,171	12,297	12,020	22,138	39,277
Others and not stated	12,980	17,490	24,674	27,009	26,654	30,368	30,339	37,388	48,074
	18,245	40,614	17,229	14,599	14,898	11,778	14,835	93,034	139,174

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-14. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Ontario (percentages), 1871-1961¹

	1871	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	82.25	80.40	79.35	77.20	77.79	74.01	72.07	67.03	59.53
French	4.65	5.35	7.27	8.06	8.46	8.73	9.87	10.39	10.39
Dutch	1.23	1.15	1.07	1.39	1.72	1.76	1.93	2.14	3.06
German	9.79	9.78	9.31	7.66	4.45	5.07	4.41	4.83	6.43
Italian	0.02	0.03	0.24	0.85	1.14	1.47	1.59	1.91	4.39
Jewish	*	0.01	0.24	1.08	1.63	1.82	1.84	1.63	1.05
Polish			0.13	0.42	0.54	1.24	1.45	1.95	2.40
Russian	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.16	0.29	0.29	0.30	0.37	0.45
Scandinavian	0.04	0.08	0.18	0.33	0.43	0.61	0.72	0.82	1.02
Ukrainian			*	0.12	0.28	0.71	1.27	2.04	2.05
Other European	0.07	0.14	0.21	0.90	1.54	2.71	3.04	3.58	5.61
Asiatic	*	*	0.06	0.18	0.31	0.36	0.32	0.48	0.62
Indian and Eskimo	0.80	0.91	1.13	1.07	0.91	0.88	0.80	0.81	0.77
Others and not stated	1.13	2.11	0.79	0.58	0.51	0.34	0.39	2.02	2.23

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1871 and 1881 are incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-15. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Manitoba, 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	62,260	255,211	461,394	610,118	700,139	729,744	776,541	921,686
British	37,155	164,239	276,259	350,992	368,010	360,560	362,550	396,445
French	9,688	16,021	31,293	40,638	47,039	52,996	66,020	83,936
Dutch	505	925	3,028	20,728	24,957	39,204	42,341	47,780
German	8,632	27,265	34,979	19,444	38,078	41,479	54,251	91,846
Italian	38	217	985	1,933	2,379	2,482	2,882	6,476
Jewish	18	1,514	10,850	16,669	19,341	18,879	18,840	18,898
Polish		1,674	12,321	16,594	40,243	36,550	37,933	44,371
Russian	17	3,226	7,831	14,009	11,573	6,571	8,463	7,938
Scandinavian	952	11,924	17,644	26,698	31,397	32,620	32,921	37,746
Ukrainian		3,894	31,053	44,129	73,606	89,762	98,753	105,372
Other European	24	6,451	13,558	41,313	24,696	21,850	22,297	40,112
Asiatic	4	258	970	1,715	2,255	1,788	2,867	4,177
Indian and Eskimo	4,602	16,277	13,239	13,869	15,479	15,474	21,050	29,427
Others and not stated	625	1,326	7,384	1,387	1,086	9,529	5,373	7,162

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-16. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Manitoba (percentages), 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	59.67	64.35	59.87	57.53	52.56	49.40	46.69	43.02
French	15.56	6.28	6.78	6.66	6.72	7.26	8.50	9.11
Dutch	0.81	0.36	0.66	3.40	3.57	5.37	5.45	5.18
German	13.86	10.68	7.58	3.19	5.44	5.68	6.99	9.97
Italian	0.06	0.09	0.21	0.32	0.34	0.34	0.37	0.70
Jewish	0.03	0.59	2.35	2.73	2.76	2.59	2.43	2.05
Po'ish		0.66	2.67	2.72	5.75	5.01	4.88	4.81
Russian	0.03	1.26	1.70	2.30	1.65	0.90	1.09	0.86
Scandinavian	1.53	4.67	3.82	4.37	4.48	4.47	4.24	4.10
Ukrainian		1.53	6.73	7.23	10.51	12.30	12.72	11.43
Other European	0.04	2.53	2.94	6.77	3.53	2.99	2.87	4.35
Asiatic	*	0.10	0.21	0.28	0.32	0.25	0.37	0.45
Indian and Eskimo	7.39	6.38	2.87	2.27	2.21	2.12	2.71	3.19
Others and not stated	1.02	0.52	1.60	0.23	0.16	1.31	0.69	0.78

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-17. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Saskatchewan, 1901-1961

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	91,279	492,432	757,510	921,785	895,992	831,728	925,181
British	40,094	269,513	400,416	437,836	397,905	351,862	373,482
French	2,634	25,497	42,152	50,700	50,530	51,930	59,824
Dutch	345	2,809	16,639	24,695	35,894	29,818	29,325
German	11,743	71,003	68,202	129,232	130,258	135,584	158,209
Italian	3	338	689	1,040	1,014	1,028	2,413
Jewish	198	2,092	5,380	5,116	4,149	2,702	2,287
Polish	669	3,922	8,161	25,961	27,902	26,034	28,951
Russian	10,854	17,827	45,343	35,421	25,933	19,453	22,481
Scandinavian	1,452	35,157	58,382	72,684	68,806	62,439	67,553
Ukrainian	1,094	22,276	28,097	63,400	79,777	78,399	78,851
Other European	4,082	26,444	65,610	55,053	47,030	39,800	60,468
Asiatic	52	1,238	3,333	4,419	3,420	2,976	4,925
Indian and Eskimo	17,734	11,739	12,914	15,268	13,388	22,253	30,630
Others and not stated	325	2,577	2,192	960	9,986	7,450	5,782

Source: Censuses of Canada.

Table A-18. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Saskatchewan (percentages), 1901-1961

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	43.92	54.74	52.85	47.50	44.41	42.30	40.37
French	2.89	5.18	5.56	5.50	5.64	6.24	6.47
Dutch	0.38	0.57	2.20	2.68	4.01	3.59	3.17
German	12.86	14.42	9.00	14.02	14.54	16.30	17.10
Italian	*	0.07	0.09	0.11	0.11	0.12	0.26
Jewish	0.22	0.42	0.71	0.56	0.46	0.32	0.25
Polish	0.73	0.80	1.08	2.82	3.11	3.13	3.13
Russian	11.89	3.62	5.99	3.84	2.90	2.34	2.43
Scandinavian	1.59	7.14	7.71	7.89	7.68	7.51	7.30
Ukrainian	1.20	4.52	3.71	6.88	8.90	9.43	8.52
Other European	4.47	5.37	8.66	5.97	5.25	4.79	6.54
Asiatic	0.06	0.25	0.44	0.48	0.38	0.36	0.53
Indian and Eskimo	19.43	2.38	1.71	1.65	1.49	2.68	3.31
Others and not stated	0.36	0.52	0.29	0.10	1.12	0.89	0.62

Source: Censuses of Canada.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-19. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Alberta, 1901-1961

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	73,022	374,295	588,454	731,605	796,169	939,501	1,331,944
British	34,903	215,174	351,820	389,238	399,432	451,709	601,755
French	4,511	20,600	30,913	38,377	42,979	56,185	83,319
Dutch	369	3,195	9,490	13,665	20,429	29,385	55,530
German	7,836	41,656	35,333	74,450	77,721	107,985	183,314
Italian	109	2,150	4,028	4,766	4,872	5,996	15,025
Jewish	17	1,505	3,242	3,722	4,164	3,935	4,353
Polish	470	2,297	7,172	21,157	26,845	29,661	40,539
Russian	4,822	8,033	21,212	16,381	19,316	15,353	17,952
Scandinavian	3,940	29,547	44,545	59,461	63,494	70,929	95,879
Ukrainian	634	17,584	23,827	55,872	71,868	86,957	105,923
Other European	1,409	14,117	34,696	32,797	38,174	38,527	72,274
Asiatic	249	2,103	4,300	4,929	4,204	7,441	12,503
Indian and Eskimo	13,425	11,402	14,557	15,252	12,569	21,210	28,554
Others and not stated	328	4,932	3,319	1,538	10,102	14,228	15,024

Source: Censuses of Canada.

Table A-20. Ethnic Origin of the Population of Alberta (percentages), 1901-1961

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	47.80	57.49	59.80	53.21	50.17	48.08	45.18
French	6.18	5.50	5.25	5.24	5.40	5.98	6.25
Dutch	0.51	0.85	1.61	1.87	2.57	3.13	4.17
German	10.73	11.13	6.01	10.18	9.76	11.49	13.76
Italian	0.15	0.57	0.68	0.65	0.61	0.64	1.13
Jewish	0.02	0.40	0.55	0.51	0.52	0.42	0.33
Polish	0.64	0.61	1.22	2.89	3.37	3.16	3.04
Russian	6.60	2.15	3.61	2.24	2.43	1.63	1.35
Scandinavian	5.40	7.90	7.56	8.13	7.97	7.55	7.20
Ukrainian	0.87	4.70	4.05	7.64	9.03	9.26	7.95
Other European	1.93	3.77	5.90	4.48	4.79	4.10	5.43
Asiatic	0.34	0.56	0.73	0.67	0.53	0.79	0.94
Indian and Eskimo	18.38	3.05	2.47	2.08	1.58	2.26	2.14
Others and not stated	0.45	1.32	0.56	0.21	1.27	1.51	1.13

Source: Censuses of Canada.

Table A-21. Ethnic Origin of the Population of British Columbia, 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	49,459	178,657	392,480	524,582	694,263	817,861	1,165,210	1,629,082
British	14,660	106,403	266,295	387,513	489,923	571,336	766,189	966,881
French	916	4,600	9,341	11,246	15,028	21,876	41,919	66,970
Dutch	94	437	1,434	3,306	6,234	12,737	33,388	60,176
German	858	5,807	12,726	7,273	16,986	22,407	55,307	118,926
Italian	143	1,976	9,997	8,587	12,254	13,292	17,207	38,399
Jewish	11	543	1,303	1,696	2,743	3,350	4,858	5,113
Polish		136	610	1,361	4,599	8,744	16,301	24,870
Russian	48	227	4,392	7,373	10,398	16,474	22,113	27,448
Scandinavian	236	4,880	17,087	19,002	33,854	41,560	65,612	96,792
Ukrainian		23	682	793	2,583	7,563	22,613	35,640
Other European	1,184	3,155	12,227	12,106	22,567	27,509	39,738	80,378
Asiatic	4,350	19,524	30,864	39,739	50,951	42,472	25,644	40,299
Indian and Eskimo	25,661	28,949	20,174	22,377	24,599	24,882	28,504	38,814
Others and not stated	2,298	1,997	5,348	2,210	1,544	3,659	25,817	28,376

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-22. Ethnic Origin of the Population of British Columbia (percentages), 1881-1961¹

	1881	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
British	29.64	59.55	67.85	73.86	70.57	69.86	65.75	59.35
French	1.85	2.57	2.38	2.14	2.16	2.68	3.60	4.11
Dutch	0.19	0.25	0.37	0.63	0.90	1.56	2.86	3.69
German	1.73	3.25	3.24	1.39	2.45	2.74	4.75	7.30
Italian	0.29	1.11	2.55	1.64	1.76	1.63	1.48	2.36
Jewish	0.02	0.30	0.33	0.32	0.40	0.41	0.42	0.31
Polish		0.08	0.16	0.26	0.66	1.07	1.40	1.53
Russian	0.10	0.13	1.12	1.41	1.50	2.01	1.90	1.69
Scandinavian	0.48	2.73	4.35	3.62	4.88	5.08	5.63	5.94
Ukrainian		0.01	0.17	0.15	0.37	0.92	1.94	2.19
Other European	0.37	1.77	3.12	2.31	3.25	3.36	3.41	4.93
Asiatic	8.79	10.93	7.86	7.57	7.34	5.19	2.20	2.47
Indian and Eskimo	51.89	16.20	5.14	4.27	3.54	3.04	2.45	2.38
Others and not stated	4.65	1.12	1.36	0.42	0.22	0.45	2.21	1.74

Source: Censuses of Canada.

¹ Data for 1881 is incomplete, particularly in the treatment of small numbers of those from central Europe, 1891 is omitted because of insufficient data.

Table A-23. Percentage of the Male Population in the Labour Force, by Age and Ethnic Origin—Canada, Ontario, and Quebec, 1961

	All origins	British	French	German	Italian	Jewish	Ukrainian	Others
<i>Canada</i>								
All ages	77.7	77.3	75.9	83.6	84.4	80.1	80.1	78.4
15-24 years	60.5	61.1	56.1	73.4	73.1	46.6	63.9	62.9
25-44 years	94.0	96.0	92.7	93.3	91.0	96.5	95.3	91.8
45-64 years	87.7	88.3	86.0	90.1	93.9	89.8	85.1	87.3
65 years and over	28.4	26.7	27.9	42.3	26.1	46.9	32.8	29.3
<i>Ontario</i>								
All ages	80.8	79.9	79.3	84.8	85.2	79.9	81.9	81.6
15-24 years	62.9	61.5	61.8	78.1	70.1	42.5	55.4	62.2
25-44 years	95.9	98.3	94.4	90.7	93.3	96.6	89.4	93.2
45-64 years	90.2	89.7	89.4	92.7	91.3	89.7	98.8	90.2
65 years and over	31.6	30.6	23.5	48.5	29.3	42.2	30.3	33.5
<i>Quebec</i>								
All ages	76.7	78.4	75.8	87.2	84.2	80.8	79.9	80.0
15-24 years	57.6	60.1	56.7	76.5	70.1	50.1	60.4	65.1
25-44 years	92.8	93.6	92.8	—	93.3	92.5	—	87.9
45-64 years	86.0	91.2	84.8	—	91.3	93.3	—	88.9
65 years and over	27.4	25.7	26.9	23.1	13.9	47.2	53.4	35.5

Source: Raynauld, Marion, and Béand, "La répartition des revenus," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-553.

—Dash indicates data not available.

Table A-24. Occupation of the Male Labour Force, by Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins ¹	British	French	Dutch	German	Hungarian	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other Europeans	Asiatic	Indian
All occupations	4,705,518	2,071,417	1,303,280	115,072	297,003	42,536	137,071	49,820	96,100	32,571	110,428	135,987	184,938	37,520	26,977
Managerial and technical	481,379	251,602	99,290	9,121	24,628	2,696	9,021	19,617	8,813	4,938	10,309	9,710	16,607	8,044	309
Professional	356,578	193,391	77,206	7,963	18,083	3,592	3,843	6,806	6,468	2,723	6,545	7,928	12,548	3,608	284
Clerical	324,811	170,365	87,400	5,954	14,922	1,794	5,048	3,383	4,962	1,474	4,958	7,687	9,122	2,025	277
Sales	263,229	135,987	68,036	5,185	13,052	1,310	4,328	7,047	3,693	1,942	4,873	4,788	6,644	1,961	232
Services	400,399	190,152	100,073	7,724	18,914	3,783	11,607	1,272	7,011	1,831	7,602	9,948	21,099	9,207	2,103
Transport and communication	354,736	164,799	115,937	7,635	18,537	1,772	6,495	1,406	4,632	1,736	7,062	8,739	7,735	1,209	1,010
Farmers and farm workers	573,098	222,328	140,636	25,888	62,363	7,467	3,653	225	13,468	6,486	25,272	31,225	23,659	2,135	5,147
Loggers	78,826	20,643	42,836	733	2,121	254	797	6	968	407	2,023	897	3,257	179	3,144
Fishermen, trappers and hunters	35,648	18,249	6,703	613	990	16	67	6	86	30	1,344	129	671	561	4,752
Miners and related workers	65,119	24,555	20,023	870	3,830	851	2,268	14	2,369	390	1,872	2,398	4,665	98	303
Craftsmen and production workers	1,354,594	529,086	409,253	34,035	96,591	14,824	59,942	7,782	33,695	7,889	30,456	40,218	62,074	6,234	4,773
Labourers	294,059	95,884	97,267	7,043	16,610	3,390	26,384	542	7,240	1,906	5,544	9,343	13,275	1,573	3,856
Not stated	123,042	54,376	38,620	2,308	6,372	787	3,618	1,714	2,695	819	2,568	2,977	3,582	686	787

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹Including those of ethnic origin categories not given in the Table.

Table A-25. Occupation of the Male Labour Force, by Ethnic Origin (percentages)—Canada, 1961

	All ori- gins ¹	British	French	Dutch	German	Hun- garian	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other Euro- pean	Asia- tic	Indian
All occupations	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Managerial	10.23	12.15	7.62	7.93	8.29	6.34	6.58	39.38	9.17	15.16	9.34	7.14	8.98	21.44	1.15
Professional and technical	7.58	9.34	5.92	6.92	6.09	8.44	2.80	13.66	6.73	8.36	5.93	5.83	6.79	9.62	1.05
Clerical	6.90	8.22	6.71	5.17	5.02	4.21	3.68	6.79	5.16	4.53	4.49	5.65	4.93	5.40	1.03
Sales	5.59	6.56	5.22	4.51	4.40	3.08	3.16	14.15	3.84	5.96	4.41	3.52	3.59	5.23	0.86
Service	8.51	9.18	7.68	6.71	6.37	8.89	8.47	2.55	7.30	5.62	6.88	7.32	11.41	24.34	7.80
Transport and communication	7.54	7.96	8.90	6.63	6.24	4.17	4.74	2.82	4.82	5.33	6.39	6.43	4.18	3.22	3.74
Farmers and farm workers	12.18	10.73	10.79	22.50	21.00	17.56	2.67	0.45	14.01	19.91	22.89	22.96	12.79	5.69	19.08
Loggers	1.68	1.00	3.29	0.64	0.71	0.60	0.58	0.01	1.01	1.25	1.83	0.66	1.76	0.48	11.65
Fishermen, trappers and hunters	0.76	0.88	0.51	0.53	0.33	0.04	0.05	0.01	0.09	0.09	1.22	0.10	0.36	1.49	17.62
Miners and related work	1.38	1.18	1.54	0.76	1.29	2.00	1.65	0.03	2.47	1.20	1.69	1.76	2.52	0.26	1.12
Craftsmen and production workers	28.79	25.54	31.40	29.58	32.52	34.85	43.73	15.62	35.06	24.22	27.58	29.57	33.57	16.61	17.69
Labourers	6.25	4.63	7.46	6.12	5.59	7.97	19.28	1.09	7.53	5.85	5.02	6.87	7.18	4.19	14.29
Not stated	2.61	2.63	2.96	2.00	2.15	1.85	2.64	3.44	2.81	2.52	2.33	2.19	1.94	1.83	2.92

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.
¹Including those of ethnic origin categories not given in the Table.

Table A-26. Occupation of the Female Labour Force, by Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961

	All origins ¹	British	French	Dutch	German	Hungarian	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandinavian	Ukrainian	Other European	Asiatic	Indian
All occupations	1,766,332	815,059	475,214	34,282	113,407	14,880	46,716	15,371	34,870	11,086	34,890	55,693	69,982	11,774	6,146
Managerial	57,661	28,173	14,917	888	2,876	454	824	1,536	1,202	496	1,307	1,477	1,997	671	58
Professional and technical	272,333	142,729	80,701	4,345	13,126	1,404	1,818	2,105	3,040	1,283	5,435	4,646	6,181	1,564	293
Clerical	509,345	288,398	103,920	8,204	28,764	3,172	7,204	5,924	8,235	3,024	9,992	13,536	16,387	3,318	451
Sales	147,486	79,117	33,282	2,758	8,372	749	2,446	2,548	2,409	1,052	3,229	4,157	4,032	3,992	199
Service	395,948	152,879	115,924	10,025	31,006	4,544	10,777	1,200	9,468	2,698	8,791	14,216	20,603	2,824	3,469
Transport and communication	37,968	21,318	9,622	620	1,993	121	374	78	428	150	907	811	721	107	49
Farmers and farm workers	75,868	21,504	18,007	3,149	9,351	1,594	491	13	3,287	1,032	1,952	9,214	5,062	422	486
Loggers	117	28	67	3	1				1	1	1	2	1		12
Fishermen, trappers and hunters	274	86	73	2	7	1			3		5	6		1	84
Miners and related work	22	6	6		2	3	1		2			1	1		
Craftsmen and production workers	205,189	55,340	77,610	2,987	13,821	2,413	20,104	1,607	5,140	1,047	1,762	5,860	12,841	1,556	689
Labourers	20,943	6,734	6,403	467	1,464	252	1,882	100	617	153	280	807	1,149	161	141
Not stated	43,178	18,747	14,682	834	2,624	173	795	260	1,038	150	1,229	960	1,007	158	215

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹Including those of ethnic origin categories not given in the Table.

Table A-27. Occupation of the Female Labour Force, by Ethnic Origin (percentages)—Canada, 1961

	All ori- gins ¹	British	French	Dutch	German	Hun- garian	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other Euro- pean	Asia- tic	Indian
All occupations	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Managerial	3.26	3.46	3.14	2.59	2.54	3.05	1.76	9.99	3.45	4.47	3.75	2.65	2.85	5.70	0.94
Professional and technical	15.42	17.51	16.98	12.67	11.57	9.44	3.89	13.69	8.72	11.57	15.58	8.34	8.83	13.28	4.77
Clerical	28.84	35.39	21.87	23.93	25.36	21.32	15.42	38.54	23.61	27.28	28.64	24.31	23.42	28.18	7.34
Sales	8.35	9.71	7.00	8.05	7.38	5.03	5.24	16.58	6.91	9.49	9.26	7.46	5.76	8.42	3.24
Service	22.42	18.76	24.39	29.24	27.34	30.54	23.07	7.81	27.15	24.34	25.20	25.53	29.44	23.99	56.44
Transport and communica- tion	2.15	2.61	2.03	1.81	1.76	0.81	0.80	0.51	1.23	1.35	2.60	1.46	1.03	0.91	0.80
Farmers and farm workers	4.29	2.64	3.79	9.19	8.25	10.71	1.05	0.08	9.43	9.31	5.59	16.55	7.23	3.58	7.91
Loggers	0.01	*	0.01	0.01	*				*	0.01	*	*	*		0.19
Fishermen, trappers and hun- ters	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01			0.01	*	0.01	0.01	*	0.01	1.37
Miners and related work- ers	*	*	*	*	*	0.02			*						
Craftsmen and production workers	11.62	6.79	16.33	8.71	12.19	16.22	43.04	10.46	14.74	9.45	5.05	10.52	18.35	13.22	11.21
Labourers	1.19	0.82	1.35	1.36	1.29	1.69	4.03	0.65	1.77	1.38	0.80	1.45	1.64	1.37	2.29
Not stated	2.44	2.30	3.09	2.43	2.31	1.16	1.70	1.69	2.98	1.35	3.52	1.72	1.44	1.34	3.50

SOURCE: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 94-515.

¹Including those of ethnic origin categories not given in the Table.

*Percentage less than 0.01.

Table A-28. Members of the House of Commons of Non-British, Non-French Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1867-1964

Ethnic origin	Total	Atlantic Provinces	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia
Total	97	8	15	35	15	9	8	7
German	40	7	2	21	4	3	1	2
Ukrainian	11			2	3		6	
Jewish	9		5	2	2			
Scandinavian	6				2	1	1	2
Swiss	6		1	5				
Dutch	5	1	1	1		1		1
Polish	5		3	1		1		
Icelandic	4				3			1
Italian	3			3		1		
Austrian	1							
Belgian	1		1					
Chinese	1							1
Czech	1				1			
Lebanese	1					1		
Portuguese	1		1					
Roumanian	1		1					
Yugoslav	1					1		

Source: Data from collection of Professor Roman March of McMaster University.

Table A-29. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Federal Public Servants,¹ by Province—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total ²		Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Prairie Provinces								British Columbia	
									Total		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta			
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	223,731	100.0	30,790	100.0	40,827	100.0	93,496	100.0	34,599	100.0	11,139	100.0	8,664	100.0	14,796	100.0	21,057	100.0
British	131,090	58.6	24,003	77.9	5,841	14.3	63,587	68.0	20,502	59.3	6,446	57.9	5,232	60.4	8,824	59.6	15,806	75.1
French	53,823	24.0	3,717	12.1	33,210	81.3	13,993	15.0	2,010	5.8	733	6.6	420	4.8	857	5.8	677	3.2
Others	38,818	17.4	3,070	10.0	1,776	4.4	15,216	17.0	12,087	34.9	3,960	35.5	3,012	34.8	5,115	34.6	4,574	21.7

Source: Klein and Ledoux, "Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada," and data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

¹Excluding those in certain Crown corporations.

²Including those in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

Table A-30. Percentage Distribution of Federal Public Servants,¹ by Ethnic Origin and Province—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total ²	Prairie Provinces										
		Atlantic Provinces		Quebec	Ontario	Total	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia		
Total	100	13.8	18.2	41.8	15.5	5.0	3.9	6.6	9.4			
British	100	18.3	4.5	48.5	15.6	4.9	4.0	6.7	12.1			
French	100	6.9	61.7	26.0	3.7	1.4	0.8	1.6	1.3			
Others	100	7.9	4.6	41.0	31.1	10.2	7.8	13.2	11.8			

Source: Klein and Ledoux, "Census Analysis of the Public Service of Canada," and data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

¹Excluding those in certain Crown corporations.

²Including those in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon.

Table A-31. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Federal Public Servants,¹ by Occupation—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total		Managers		Engineers		Scientists		Professionals		Other clerical		Craftsmen and production workers		Labourers		Other occupations		Not stated	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total	223,731	100.0	17,617	100.0	2,429	100.0	3,563	100.0	20,118	100.0	88,407	100.0	25,664	100.0	8,160	100.0	54,243	100.0	3,530	100.0
British	131,090	58.6	11,878	67.4	1,630	67.1	2,312	64.9	12,543	62.3	50,727	57.4	14,913	58.1	4,086	50.1	30,843	56.9	2,158	61.1
French	53,823	24.1	3,486	19.8	248	10.2	3,369	10.4	3,936	19.6	23,665	26.8	6,153	24.0	1,735	21.2	13,471	24.8	760	21.5
Others	38,818	17.3	2,253	12.8	551	22.7	882	24.7	3,639	18.1	14,015	15.8	4,598	17.9	2,339	28.7	9,929	18.3	612	17.4

Source: Data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

¹Excluding those in certain Crown corporations.

Table A-32. Median Annual Salary of Federal Public Servants,¹ by Occupation and Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total		Adminis- trators		Engineers		Scientists		Other professionals		Clerical		Craftsmen and production workers		Labourers		Other occupations		Not stated	
	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$	Number	\$
Total	3,570	\$ 3,570	6,106	\$ 6,106	7,354	\$ 7,354	6,612	\$ 6,612	5,024	\$ 5,024	2,836	\$ 2,836	3,865	\$ 3,865	2,276	\$ 2,276	3,087	\$ 3,087	3,893	\$ 3,893
British	3,708	\$ 3,708	6,201	\$ 6,201	7,572	\$ 7,572	6,888	\$ 6,888	5,107	\$ 5,107	2,844	\$ 2,844	3,950	\$ 3,950	2,369	\$ 2,369	3,179	\$ 3,179	4,101	\$ 4,101
French	3,378	\$ 3,378	5,586	\$ 5,586	6,771	\$ 6,771	5,826	\$ 5,826	5,095	\$ 5,095	2,936	\$ 2,936	3,713	\$ 3,713	2,349	\$ 2,349	2,922	\$ 2,922	3,484	\$ 3,484
Others	3,371	\$ 3,371	5,705	\$ 5,705	6,977	\$ 6,977	6,218	\$ 6,218	4,659	\$ 4,659	2,641	\$ 2,641	3,796	\$ 3,796	2,057	\$ 2,057	3,026	\$ 3,026	3,701	\$ 3,701

Source: Klein and Ledoux, "Census Analysis of the Public Service," and data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

¹Excluding those in certain Crown corporations.

Table A-33. Percentage Distribution of Military Personnel in each Service and Rank, by Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1966

Ethnic origin	The three services			Army			Air Force			Navy		
	All military personnel	Officers	Men	All military personnel	Officers	Men	All military personnel	Officers	Men	All military personnel	Officers	Men
British	64.7	73.2	63.1	63.6	71.2	62.6	62.5	72.5	60.4	72.1	80.0	70.7
French	19.1	12.5	20.3	21.0	15.3	21.8	19.8	12.3	21.5	12.9	7.0	13.9
Other	16.2	14.3	16.6	15.4	13.5	15.6	17.7	15.2	18.1	15.0	13.0	15.4
German	5.3	4.2	5.5	4.7	4.0	4.8	6.1	4.3	6.4	4.5	4.2	4.6
Italian	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.4
Polish	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.5	1.1	1.0	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8
Ukrainian	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.5	0.8	1.6	2.0	2.4	1.9	1.7	1.0	1.8
Other	8.0	7.0	8.2	8.2	7.2	8.3	8.1	7.0	8.3	7.6	6.8	7.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sample	8,324	3,074	5,250	3,154	1,199	1,955	2,974	1,184	1,790	2,196	691	1,505

Source: Pierre Coulombe, with the collaboration of Lise Courcelles, "Carrière militaire et dynamique culturelle."

Table A-34. Percentage Distribution of Military Personnel in Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Service and Rank—Canada, 1966

Ethnic origin	The three services			Army			Air Force			Navy		
	Officers	Men	Total	Officers	Men	Total	Officers	Men	Total	Officers	Men	Total
All origins	15.2	84.8	100	12.7	87.3	100	17.9	82.1	100	14.4	85.6	100
British	17.2	82.8	100	14.2	85.8	100	20.8	79.2	100	15.9	84.1	100
French	9.9	90.1	100	9.3	90.7	100	11.2	88.8	100	7.8	92.2	100
Other	13.3	86.7	100	11.2	88.8	100	15.5	84.5	100	12.4	87.6	100
German	12.1	87.9	100	10.7	89.3	100	12.8	87.2	100	13.3	86.7	100
Italian	19.5	80.5	100	21.2	78.8	100	21.3	78.7	100	9.5	90.5	100
Polish	16.1	83.9	100	18.8	81.2	100	15.4	84.6	100	14.1	85.9	100
Ukrainian	14.5	85.5	100	6.9	93.1	100	22.1	77.9	100	8.4	91.6	100
Other	13.3	86.7	100	11.2	88.8	100	15.5	84.5	100	12.8	87.2	100

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-35. Percentage Distribution of Military Personnel in Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Rank and Service—
Canada, 1966

Ethnic origin	All military personnel						Officers						Men											
	Army			Air Force			Navy			Total			Army			Air Force			Navy			Total		
Total	40.9	42.3	16.8	100			40.9	42.3	16.8	100			40.9	42.3	16.8	100			40.9	42.3	16.8	100		
British	40.3	41.0	18.7	100			40.3	41.0	18.7	100			40.3	41.0	18.7	100			40.3	41.0	18.7	100		
French	44.8	43.9	11.3	100			44.8	43.9	11.3	100			44.8	43.9	11.3	100			44.8	43.9	11.3	100		
Other	38.6	45.8	15.6	100			38.6	45.8	15.6	100			38.6	45.8	15.6	100			38.6	45.8	15.6	100		
German	36.8	48.7	14.5	100			36.8	48.7	14.5	100			36.8	48.7	14.5	100			36.8	48.7	14.5	100		
Italian	42.6	42.3	15.1	100			42.6	42.3	15.1	100			42.6	42.3	15.1	100			42.6	42.3	15.1	100		
Polish	27.0	56.3	16.7	100			27.0	56.3	16.7	100			27.0	56.3	16.7	100			27.0	56.3	16.7	100		
Ukrainian	34.8	48.5	16.7	100			34.8	48.5	16.7	100			34.8	48.5	16.7	100			34.8	48.5	16.7	100		
Other	41.5	42.5	16.0	100			41.5	42.5	16.0	100			41.5	42.5	16.0	100			41.5	42.5	16.0	100		

Source: Coulombe, "Carrière militaire."

Table A-36. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Provincial Public Servants, by Province—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	Total		Atlantic Provinces		Quebec		Ontario		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All origins (A + B + C)	73,288	100.0	6,916	100.0	22,183	100.0	21,634	100.0	3,547	100.0	2,698	100.0	7,283	100.0	7,221	100.0
British (A)	37,229	50.8	5,817	84.1	886	4.0	16,158	74.7	2,201	62.1	1,518	56.3	4,078	56.0	5,596	77.5
French (B)	23,640	32.3	668	9.7	20,927	94.3	1,112	5.1	196	5.5	101	3.7	357	4.9	206	2.8
Other (C)	12,419	16.9	431	6.2	370	1.7	4,364	20.2	1,150	32.4	1,079	40.0	2,848	39.1	1,419	19.7
German	3,001	4.1	132	1.9	45	0.2	884	4.1	245	6.9	344	12.7	761	10.4	311	4.3
Ukrainian	1,590	2.2	2	*	12	0.1	380	1.8	285	8.0	150	5.6	594	8.2	72	1.0
Italian	547	0.7	5	0.1	84	0.4	324	1.5	15	0.4	6	0.2	57	0.8	54	0.8
Jewish	228	0.3	5	*	5	*	141	0.6	50	1.4	15	0.6	9	0.1	5	0.1
Others	7,053	9.6	292	4.2	224	1.0	2,635	12.2	555	15.7	564	20.9	1,427	19.6	977	13.5

Source: Data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

* Percentage lower than 0.01.

Table A-37. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Provincial Public Servants, by Occupation—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin	All occupations		Managerial		Professional and technical		Clerical		Service		Craftsmen and production workers		Labourers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
All origins (A + B + C)	73,288	100.0	6,113	100.0	13,179	100.0	27,893	100.0	12,510	100.0	6,143	100.0	3,031	100.0
British (A)	37,229	50.8	3,769	61.6	7,103	53.9	13,734	49.2	6,215	49.6	3,141	51.1	1,132	37.3
French (B)	23,640	32.3	1,611	27.4	3,810	26.6	9,416	33.8	4,359	34.8	1,819	29.6	1,348	44.5
Other (C)	12,419	16.9	671	11.0	2,366	19.5	4,741	17.0	1,986	15.6	1,183	19.3	551	18.2
German	3,001	4.1	175	2.9	41	0.3	1,145	4.1	473	3.8	338	5.5	103	3.4
Ukrainian	1,590	2.2	61	1.0	308	2.3	730	2.6	221	1.8	133	2.2	78	2.6
Italian	547	0.7	31	0.5	74	0.6	188	0.7	104	0.8	68	1.1	47	1.5
Jewish	228	0.3	14	0.2	67	0.5	110	0.4	25	0.2	6	0.1	5	0.1
Other	7,053	9.6	390	6.4	1,536	11.7	2,570	9.2	1,133	9.0	638	10.4	323	10.7

Source: Data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

Table A-38. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Municipal Public Servants, by Ethnic Origin and Years of Service—Winnipeg Metropolitan Area, 1964

Ethnic origin	Number	%	10 years or less		Over 10 years		
			Number	%	Number	%	%
All origins (A+B+C)	1,296	100.0	851	65.7	445	34.3	100
British (A)	713	60.4	428	60.1	285	39.9	100
French (B)	103	12.6	76	73.8	27	26.2	100
Other (C)	480	27.0	347	72.3	133	27.7	100
German	96	7.4	76	79.2	20	20.8	100
Icelandic	29	2.2	18	62.1	11	37.9	100
Italian	14	1.1	10	71.4	4	28.6	100
Jewish	19	1.4	12	63.2	7	36.8	100
Polish	36	2.8	24	66.7	12	33.3	100
Ukrainian	204	15.8	145	71.1	59	28.9	100
Other	82	6.3	62	75.6	20	24.4	100

Source: Donnelly, "Ethnic Participation in Municipal Government."

Table A-39. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of Municipal Public Servants, by Ethnic Origin—Ottawa, Hull, Montreal, Toronto, 1961

Ethnic Origin	Ottawa		Hull		Montreal		Toronto	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Total (A+B+C)	2,661	100.0	427	100.0	13,472	100.0	7,180	100.0
British (A)	1,462	54.9	8	1.9	614	4.6	5,015	69.9
French (B)	885	33.3	417	97.6	11,911	88.4	238	3.3
Other (C)	314	11.8	2	0.5	947	7.0	1,927	26.8
German	61	2.3			24	0.2	195	2.7
Italian	43	1.6			596	4.4	418	5.8
Jewish	7	0.3			15	0.1	47	0.6
Ukrainian	22	0.8			34	0.2	193	2.7
Other	181	6.8	2	0.5	278	2.1	1,074	15.0

Source: Data prepared for the Commission by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, based on the 1961 census.

Table A-40. Rate of Male Endogamy and Exogamy (percentages)—Canada, 1951

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Other European	Indian and Eskimo
British	85.1	4.8	1.6	2.8		0.5	1.7	0.6	1.5	0.1
French	8.0	89.7	0.2	0.6		0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.1
Dutch	43.3	3.5	42.7	4.4		0.5	1.9	0.7	1.9	0.1
German	32.5	3.9	1.8	52.0	0.1	1.4	2.4	1.5	3.4	0.1
Jewish	3.2	0.7	0.1	0.3	93.1	0.8	0.1	0.2	1.4	
Polish	13.0	3.1	0.6	4.2	0.9	55.7	0.9	14.8	6.1	0.1
Scandinavian	43.6	4.0	2.0	5.8		1.0	36.5	1.8	3.8	0.2
Ukrainian	8.7	1.9	0.4	2.1		7.1	0.9	74.8	3.6	0.1
Other Europeans	17.0	6.3	0.9	3.9	0.5	2.6	1.2	3.5	63.3	0.1
Asiatics	13.2	5.6	0.5	1.0	0.1	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.9	0.3
Indians and Eskimos	3.2	2.1	0.1	0.2		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	93.8

Source: J. Henripin, H. Charbonneau, and W. Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," a study prepared for the R.C.B.&B., and Census of Canada, 1951.

Table A-41. Rate of Female Endogamy and Exogamy (percentages)—Canada, 1951

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Other European	Indian and Eskimo
British	85.6	4.1	1.6	2.9	0.1	0.4	1.8	0.5	1.5	0.1
French	9.2	87.7	0.3	0.7		0.2	0.3	0.2	1.1	0.1
Dutch	43.1	3.1	42.9	4.3	0.1	0.6	2.2	0.6	2.1	0.1
German	32.1	3.3	1.8	52.3	0.1	1.6	2.7	1.3	3.9	0.1
Jewish	1.3	0.2		0.2	95.6	0.9		0.1	1.4	
Polish	14.1	2.5	0.6	3.9	0.8	56.7	1.3	12.4	7.1	0.1
Scandinavian	44.0	3.1	1.9	5.5	0.1	0.7	39.4	1.4	2.9	0.1
Ukrainian	9.7	1.6	0.4	2.3	0.1	8.2	1.2	70.9	5.2	0.1
Other European	17.2	4.1	0.8	3.6	0.5	2.4	1.9	2.4	66.3	0.2
Asiatic	8.2	1.9	0.2	0.5	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.4	86.6
Indian and Eskimo	5.7	3.2	0.2	0.4		0.1	0.6	0.2	0.5	88.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada 1951.

Table A-42. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	8,126	580	160	405	51	4	63	25	215	91	140	9	130
French	8,831	8,831	24	85	34	1	20	5	33	27	54	4	32
Dutch	3,104	327	5,495	463	30	2	55	38	164	75	160	9	77
German	3,072	450	168	5,203	49	5	134	70	252	175	320	7	95
Italian	1,083	650	34	145	7,669	5	57	15	49	80	156	6	50
Jewish	356	113	12	48	12	9,114	92	85	16	24	106	5	16
Polish	1,642	400	87	608	97	75	4,900	300	120	1,176	500	9	85
Russian	1,642	260	120	750	48	185	691	4,769	179	485	756	13	100
Scandinavian	4,509	510	185	736	49	3	126	60	3,120	231	329	11	130
Ukrainian	1,464	331	63	442	68	4	729	103	164	6,181	361	8	80
Other European	1,604	511	93	649	93	33	242	140	149	299	6,057	18	111
Asiatic	997	407	44	133	41	7	42	18	54	66	125	7,994	71
Others and not stated	2,707	373	73	241	48	7	74	32	98	87	156	14	6,088

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-43. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Canada, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	8,154	492	163	410	67	8	72	26	222	88	151	14	132
French	972	8,506	30	101	68	4	30	7	42	34	81	9	30
Dutch	3,088	275	5,562	431	40	6	73	36	174	73	168	12	69
German	2,989	365	179	5,095	66	8	196	87	266	198	451	14	86
Italian	885	343	27	113	8,226	5	74	13	41	71	151	9	40
Jewish	192	37	6	31	13	9,297	137	122	6	10	131	4	15
Polish	1,557	295	72	442	88	56	5,309	271	153	1,091	567	14	89
Russian	1,632	216	129	598	59	133	839	4,841	188	402	846	16	101
Scandinavian	4,574	406	183	713	66	8	111	60	3,252	211	300	15	101
Ukrainian	1,476	252	64	376	81	9	834	125	184	6,059	457	14	68
Other European	1,586	351	94	479	110	29	246	135	182	246	6,436	20	85
Asiatic	746	182	38	78	31	10	32	16	43	37	131	8,602	53
Others and not stated	2,640	383	82	257	64	8	76	32	129	98	214	20	5,997

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Études des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-44. Rate¹ of Female² Endogamy and Exogamy—Newfoundland, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	9,666	202	7	28	2	2	3	1	26	1	13	10	38
French	5,745	3,970	24	90	16	4	12		32	4	8	20	76
Dutch	5,081	164	3,770	492			164						328
German	5,747	402	57	3,302		29	86	30	30	30	143		143
Italian	6,250	312			3,437								
Jewish	2,500					6,667	417			416			
Polish	3,571		328	714		714	4,285				238	238	
Russian	3,750	625				1,250	625	3,125			625		
Scandinavian	7,710	521	104	208			104		937	52	52	52	260
Ukrainian	6,427	357	714				357			1,429	357	357	76
Other European	5,454	228	152	303		303	76	76	76		3,182	76	76
Asiatic	2,540	158									79	7,145	79
Others and not stated	4,082	213	9	29			9		40		20	30	5,568

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

²The rate of male endogamy and exogamy has not been calculated because of the small population of other than British ethnic origin in Newfoundland.

Table A-45. Rate¹ of Female² Endogamy and Exogamy—Prince Edward Island, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	9,264	487	90	64	10		4		43	2	9	13	13
French	3,124	6,761	29	33			3		9	3	13	6	19
Dutch	5,178	446	4,017	134					44		133		44
German	7,705	518	222	1,037		74		74	74	74	74	148	
Italian	6,875	625		625	1,875								
Jewish	3,333					6,666							
Polish	5,384						3,846						
Russian	8,570	1,430											769
Scandinavian	7,660	650		260					1,170	1,000	130	130	
Ukrainian	5,000	1,000	1,000								2,000		
Other European	6,364	910	682	227			225			208	1,363	227	
Asiatic	2,917	208										6,666	
Others and not stated	3,803	422					141				141		5,492

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

²The rate of male endogamy and exogamy has not been calculated because of the small population of other than British ethnic origin in Prince Edward Island.

Ethnic origin of females

²Source: Henriptin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-47. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—New Brunswick, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Other European
British	8,619	818	182	159	10	1	7	3	89	7
French	1,167	8,723	22	29	9	1	1	6	19	13
Dutch	6,944	571	1,904	273	24				107	53
German	6,771	878		1,745	12	190	12	6	133	101
Italian	4,360	2,088	73	366	2,674	8,134		191	146	146
Jewish	1,292	143	47	95		148		370	47	74
Polish	4,190	1,186	74	592	74	675	2,222	2,298		666
Russian	5,887	405		405	9		946	9	2,058	946
Scandinavian	6,898	1,476	162	266					172	47
Ukrainian	4,215	689		345		76	133	113	1,207	517
Other European	3,384	1,424	170	398	113				76	3,150
Asiatic	3,267	1,825	38	76					152	4,373
Others and not stated		592	100	153					33	13

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-48. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—New Brunswick, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Other European
British	8,750	662	175	160	18	4	9	4	93	6
French	1,413	8,415	24	35	14		4		40	1
Dutch	7,190	500	1,861	175	12	6	6		100	20
German	6,700	700	286	1,700	62	12	50	19	174	52
Italian	3,600	1,800	211	105	3,865	8,720	102	256	52	316
Jewish	513	205					835	660	90	205
Polish	5,100	472		189		668		2,824	167	660
Russian	4,003	167	167	167	42	10			2,271	1,002
Scandinavian	6,344	777	189	220	270		270	135	98	42
Ukrainian	7,162	405		676	79	20	175	7	946	3,210
Other European	4,659	989	175	303	98		49		60	98
Asiatic	2,842	784	196	147					49	5,635
Others and not stated	2,967	306	116	116					56	29

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-49. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Quebec, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Others and not stated
British	7,367	2,065	50	123	52	12	33	17	75	59
French	2,633	9,639	3	16	26	1	5	1	5	10
Dutch	2,886	1,432	4,874	234	29	8	54	29	54	54
German	1,678	2,125	70	5,214	74	40	100	55	77	58
Italian	363	1,769	5	45	7,649	6	20	5	12	12
Jewish	185	173	7	23	9,291	9	75	94	3	6
Polish	889	1,065	50	334	76	241	5,792	510	276	6
Russian	946	670	17	164	67	658	987	4,663	35	10
Scandinavian	4,139	2,617	65	247	69	3	90	25	2,282	44
Ukrainian	1,165	1,311	16	247	99	11	553	155	30	47
Other European	698	1,492	33	312	92	117	187	225	83	68
Asiatic	815	1,765	25	92	86	45	48	12	25	7
Others and not stated	1,162	1,472	16	109	27	33	75	21	36	92
										6,808

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-50. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Quebec, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Others and not stated
British	7,604	1,667	57	127	81	30	58	26	93	63
French	333	9,476	4	26	62	4	12	3	9	13
Dutch	2,740	1,078	5,044	282	66	57	173	26	78	47
German	1,685	1,376	61	5,256	133	48	289	61	74	34
Italian	277	849	3	30	8,666	7	25	10	8	79
Jewish	83	57	1	20	9,429	9	106	122	17	11
Polish	611	602	19	136	10	204	6,738	492	2	12
Russian	698	399	22	159	47	542	1,265	4,944	36	8
Scandinavian	4,080	1,925	56	310	150	30	112	52	22	22
Ukrainian	930	844	23	99	140	29	572	183	206	73
Other European	640	835	32	197	115	102	256	245	2,704	44
Asiatic	546	794	27	39	73	42	31	27	43	103
Others and not stated	1,156	1,198	20	84	53	34	54	25	30	81
										53
										73
										8,062
										45
										7,040

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-51. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Ontario, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
British	8,386	489	161	392	63	4	54	13	84	62
French	2,887	6,241	87	255	87	2	66	10	55	65
Dutch	3,385	304	5,556	315	3	3	37	12	37	89
German	3,689	415	133	5,015	65	5	103	27	74	71
Italian	1,080	263	31	125	8,107	5	59	11	28	82
Jewish	386	61	11	49	14	9,127	120	78	9	14
Polish	1,654	330	75	505	134	86	5,622	344	47	590
Russian	1,866	253	80	477	86	292	1,483	3,707	45	560
Scandinavian	4,995	617	137	531	67	6	116	23	2,770	142
Ukrainian	1,953	420	60	411	157	4	639	105	75	5,529
Other European	1,390	284	80	539	108	24	210	88	65	204
Asiatic	1,249	289	48	156	64	3	43	15	37	60
Others and not stated	3,635	322	85	264	70	6	76	18	46	83
										5,207

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-52. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Ontario, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
British	8,348	422	168	404	85	7	72	16	85	70
French	3,102	5,812	96	290	131	7	91	14	68	95
Dutch	3,302	263	5,651	300	50	4	67	14	49	44
German	3,488	334	140	4,897	88	8	196	36	82	131
Italian	839	170	23	90	8,496	4	80	9	16	75
Jewish	226	22	8	31	20	9,207	196	129	6	9
Polish	1,390	248	48	291	119	60	6,249	320	52	584
Russian	1,640	192	75	370	109	188	1,849	3,856	50	465
Scandinavian	5,023	482	170	490	107	11	123	23	2,870	160
Ukrainian	1,810	278	48	229	189	8	750	138	72	5,755
Other European	1,295	205	84	333	125	21	233	92	92	192
Asiatic	918	137	57	103	43	12	50	8	21	48
Others and not stated	3,440	330	96	256	92	10	90	20	70	100
										5,228

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-53. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Manitoba, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	7,735	420	160	449	29	6	157	30	426	296	181	10	98
French	2,070	6,292	92	314	27	2	156	21	201	348	333	6	134
Dutch	1,451	204	7,287	434	13	1	86	53	130	164	132	5	39
German	1,852	289	190	6,336	21	5	255	81	224	495	226	7	58
Italian	1,925	527	108	412	5,784		263	34	148	466	283	6	40
Jewish	310	62	10	68	6	9,278	55	36	45	72	47	2	6
Polish	1,240	271	71	578	23	15	4,459	117	139	2,699	335	4	47
Russian	1,325	156	362	1,082	11	128	423	4,688	250	946	501	17	111
Scandinavian	4,195	451	143	600	22	4	191	39	3,526	470	227	11	111
Ukrainian	980	228	49	358	23	5	1,050	50	133	6,873	208	5	37
Other European	1,652	680	115	718	39	14	501	107	199	820	5,042	13	97
Asiatic	1,409	220	61	257	24	12	196	49	122	367	86	7,060	135
Others and not stated	1,230	219	41	142	12	11	112	40	67	134	114		7,876

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-54. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Manitoba, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	7,910	351	162	425	33	17	147	28	400	265	170	13	80
French	2,356	5,832	125	362	50	20	176	17	232	339	400	11	80
Dutch	1,498	140	7,409	400	17	5	80	70	122	122	108	5	24
German	1,949	226	206	6,174	30	16	291	95	238	410	314	10	40
Italian	1,910	298	96	316	6,290	22	198	15	133	397	258	15	52
Jewish	120	7	2	24		9,678	36	51	10	27	30	2	13
Polish	1,395	228	84	497	39	26	4,545	76	154	2,432	446	16	62
Russian	1,502	181	289	912	28	96	679	4,772	182	667	545	22	124
Scandinavian	4,554	360	153	538	27	25	172	55	3,457	380	220	12	46
Ukrainian	1,087	210	65	3,641	30	14	1,122	70	156	6,539	300	12	31
Other European	1,913	580	152	534	50	26	408	107	218	575	5,355	8	74
Asiatic	1,236	122	68	189	13	13	54	40	122	163	163	7,816	
Others and not stated	1,450	329	63	193	10	5	80	33	150	145	145	18	7,373

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-55. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Saskatchewan, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	7,056	374	202	916	14	2	113	67	698	203	273	8	77
French	2,465	5,030	119	916	16	1	141	70	407	240	450	6	137
Dutch	2,529	231	5,343	889	11	1	92	95	395	156	189	10	56
German	2,224	301	152	5,788	9	2	158	133	446	284	452	3	47
Italian	2,860	405	101	1,057	4,216		163	60	244	183	549		162
Jewish	1,166	151	57	172	19	7,670	133	134	115	248	134		
Polish	1,344	203	100	1,030	17	15	3,826	231	235	2,534	457	4	1
Russian	1,103	200	122	1,203	14	14	276	5,576	208	572	621	12	80
Scandinavian	3,963	340	192	1,032	14	1	129	72	3,597	279	305	8	68
Ukrainian	909	166	45	495	5	1	754	143	203	6,954	291	2	31
Other European	1,699	400	105	1,308	15	6	324	257	304	533	4,883	6	96
Asiatic	863	164	61	308	20		123	51	154	185	195	7,845	31
Others and not stated	942	100	13	265	5	1	49	77	124	97	182	17	8,126

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-56. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Saskatchewan, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	7,146	316	190	900	17	7	104	68	711	193	278	10	61
French	2,700	4,654	125	944	21	7	152	81	436	251	544	14	74
Dutch	2,686	203	5,266	810	8	4	102	99	453	125	225	9	11
German	2,239	285	161	5,653	15	2	193	180	449	255	520	9	42
Italian	2,630	373	154	702	4,517	22	243	154	463	199	440	44	66
Jewish	392	21	21	173		8,719	218	152	43	43	196		21
Polish	1,505	241	91	847	13	11	3,893	224	304	2,112	699	19	42
Russian	1,157	152	121	909	6	14	300	5,809	217	510	710	10	85
Scandinavian	4,038	302	170	1,038	8	4	104	74	3,703	248	286	10	46
Ukrainian	923	139	53	518	5	7	883	159	226	6,653	393	10	30
Other European	1,800	380	100	1,200	22	5	230	250	353	400	5,170	15	77
Asiatic	735	78	70	134			33	70	145	44	100	8,492	100
Others and not stated	1,122	253	61	279	14		69	70	180	94	230	5	7,630

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-57. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—Alberta, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated
British	7,055	416	204	796	42	3	119	68	666	246	247	11	125
French	3,158	4,299	144	769	38	2	164	62	453	350	304	14	239
Dutch	2,363	252	5,758	692	19	1	84	67	385	125	194	6	51
German	2,600	320	164	5,438	36	1	164	107	502	263	315	6	84
Italian	1,757	272	131	485	6,112		174	58	223	282	374	20	110
Jewish	941	136	19	133		8,106	95	106	133	104	181	9	38
Polish	1,663	333	105	922	85	16	3,862	196	263	1,958	481	6	107
Russian	2,130	201	150	1,364	35	52	424	4,019	379	615	512	10	105
Scandinavian	4,262	392	213	1,020	32	19	128	64	3,185	278	293	9	104
Ukrainian	1,165	253	66	504	30	1	605	82	230	6,653	323	5	80
Other European	2,133	375	138	1,002	77	11	329	188	366	691	4,544	8	134
Asiatic	778	98	53	212	20	4	33	16	110	155	77	8,382	61
Others and not stated	1,985	281	61	358	36	2	131	67	261	200	210	13	6,396

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-58. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—Alberta, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males												
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian	Other European	Asiatic	Others and not stated /
British	7,110	365	213	797	47	7	116	66	688	206	256	14	116
French	3,371	3,992	182	779	58	8	186	49	507	359	362	15	132
Dutch	2,551	189	5,939	575	40	1	84	53	392	134	190	11	40
German	2,553	283	200	5,300	41	3	206	135	529	287	384	13	67
Italian	1,703	176	71	442	6,443		238	43	210	210	366	15	83
Jewish	484	40	20	50		8,786	150	210	40	20	170	10	20
Polish	1,820	292	114	775	72	12	4,057	198	311	1,620	603	9	116
Russian	2,236	235	197	1,075	51	27	445	4,048	336	473	738	10	129
Scandinavian	4,288	334	222	983	38	7	117	75	3,281	261	281	13	98
Ukrainian	1,330	216	60	433	40	4	731	102	241	6,319	447	15	62
Other European	2,220	312	156	860	89	13	300	140	420	510	4,859	13	107
Asiatic		100	30	112	30	4	26	17	100	56	56	8,805	43
Others and not stated	2,020	443	74	415	50	5	120	52	270	230	259	20	6,043

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-59. Rate¹ of Male Endogamy and Exogamy—British Columbia, 1961

Ethnic origin of males	Ethnic origin of females									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian
British	7,908	331	164	400	80	5	83	60	450	120
French	4,811	2,672	198	655	121	1	137	86	494	214
Dutch	2,880	233	5,500	520	48	4	68	77	291	103
German	3,233	330	228	4,717	86	3	143	113	423	178
Italian	2,295	203	69	340	6,196	4	71	49	261	110
Jewish	1,310	6	73	140	6	7,843	90	131	41	82
Polish	3,222	324	200	798	125	30	3,079	310	336	870
Russian	1,851	161	130	538	47	44	210	5,996	241	286
Scandinavian	4,770	354	210	558	86	2	124	89	2,116	334
Ukrainian	3,071	341	166	66	88	8	525	212	404	3,900
Other European	2,773	291	155	787	20	13	215	164	370	300
Asiatic	410	53	31	6	11	15	15	17	40	2
Others and not stated	2,958	200	81	235	64	3	76	65	256	8
										167
										5,794

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-60. Rate¹ of Female Endogamy and Exogamy—British Columbia, 1961

Ethnic origin of females	Ethnic origin of males									
	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Russian	Scandi- navian	Ukrai- nian
British	7,940	306	200	406	99	10	99	52	396	110
French	5,100	2,473	210	597	130	5	130	70	547	200
Dutch	2,794	198	5,553	464	50	7	100	62	362	100
German	3,212	320	250	4,530	110	6	163	121	454	198
Italian	1,993	191	75	269	6,691	8	83	34	227	81
Jewish	996	17	42	67	34	8,157	136	230	42	50
Polish	3,297	326	159	678	116	20	3,085	231	495	724
Russian	1,988	198	156	456	69	25	297	5,670	298	252
Scandinavian	4,708	313	198	532	114	2	99	98	3,318	149
Ukrainian	3,178	341	162	560	120	12	593	212	496	3,585
Other European	2,865	287	135	630	147	8	188	126	431	213
Asiatic	383	34	16	30	12	3	10	15	36	12
Others and not stated	2,952	255	100	282	86	3	62	60	320	99
										244
										5,507

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
¹Proportion expressed on a base of 10,000.

Table A-61. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Canada, 1951

Males		Females	
1. Jewish	93.1	1. Jewish	95.6
2. French	89.7	2. French	87.7
3. British	85.1	3. Asiatic	86.6
4. Ukrainian	74.8	4. British	85.6
5. Asiatic	74.6	5. Ukrainian	70.9
6. Other European	63.3	6. Other European	66.3
7. Polish	55.7	7. Polish	56.7
8. German	52.0	8. German	52.3
9. Dutch	42.7	9. Dutch	42.9
10. Scandinavian	36.5	10. Scandinavian	39.4

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1951.

Table A-62. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Canada, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Jewish	91.1	1. Jewish	93.0
2. French	88.3	2. Asiatic	86.0
3. British	81.3	3. French	85.1
4. Asiatic	79.9	4. Italian	82.3
5. Italian	76.7	5. British	81.5
6. Ukrainian	61.8	6. Other European	64.4
7. Other European	60.6	7. Ukrainian	60.6
8. Dutch	55.0	8. Dutch	55.6
9. German	52.0	9. Polish	53.1
10. Polish	49.0	10. German	51.0
11. Russian	47.7	11. Russian	48.4
12. Scandinavian	31.2	12. Scandinavian	32.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada, 1961," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-63. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Newfoundland, 1961

Males		Females	
1. British	96.8	1. British	96.7
2. Asiatic	50.0	2. Asiatic	71.4
3. French	38.4	3. Jewish	66.7
4. Jewish	37.2	4. Polish	42.8
5. Polish	31.6	5. French	39.7
6. Russian	31.2	6. Dutch	37.7
7. German	31.1	7. Italian	34.4
8. Italian	29.7	8. German	33.0
9. Other European	26.8	9. Other European	31.8
10. Dutch	23.5	10. Russian	31.2
11. Ukrainian	22.2	11. Ukrainian	14.2
12. Scandinavian	7.6	12. Scandinavian	9.4

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-64. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Prince Edward Island, 1961.

Males		Females	
1. British	91.8	1. British	92.6
2. French	71.6	2. French	67.6
3. Asiatic	52.4	3. Jewish	66.7
4. Jewish	50.0	4. Asiatic	66.7
5. Dutch	36.6	5. Dutch	40.2
6. Polish	33.3	6. Polish	38.5
7. Other European	18.5	7. Italian	18.8
8. Italian	15.0	8. Other European	13.6
9. Ukrainian	12.5	9. Scandinavian	11.7
10. Scandinavian	11.0	10. German	10.4
11. German	10.4	11. Ukrainian	10.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-65. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Nova Scotia, 1961

Males		Females	
1. British	83.3	1. British	83.2
2. Jewish	78.1	2. Jewish	80.8
3. French	52.4	3. Asiatic	58.6
4. Asiatic	41.3	4. French	50.0
5. German	38.4	5. German	39.8
6. Italian	29.6	6. Ukrainian	36.1
7. Other European	26.3	7. Italian	34.2
8. Dutch	27.9	8. Other European	33.4
9. Polish	26.7	9. Polish	33.1
10. Russian	26.5	10. Russian	27.9
11. Ukrainian	26.3	11. Dutch	26.0
12. Scandinavian	13.9	12. Scandinavian	15.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-66. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—New Brunswick, 1961

Males		Females	
1. French	87.2	1. British	87.5
2. British	86.2	2. Jewish	87.2
3. Jewish	81.3	3. French	84.2
4. Asiatic	43.7	4. Asiatic	56.4
5. Other European	31.5	5. Italian	38.6
6. Italian	26.7	6. Other European	32.1
7. Russian	23.0	7. Polish	28.3
8. Polish	22.2	8. Russian	28.2
9. Scandinavian	20.6	9. Scandinavian	22.7
10. Dutch	19.0	10. Dutch	18.6
11. German	17.4	11. German	17.0
12. Ukrainian	12.1	12. Ukrainian	9.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-67. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Quebec, 1961

Males		Females	
1. French	96.4	1. French	94.8
2. Jewish	92.9	2. Jewish	94.3
3. Italian	76.5	3. Italian	86.7
4. British	73.4	4. Asiatic	80.6
5. Asiatic	67.4	5. British	76.0
6. Other European	66.4	6. Other European	73.6
7. Ukrainian	59.2	7. Polish	67.4
8. Polish	57.9	8. Ukrainian	65.3
9. German	52.1	9. German	52.3
10. Dutch	48.7	10. Dutch	50.4
11. Russian	46.7	11. Russian	49.4
12. Scandinavian	22.8	12. Scandinavian	27.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-68. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Ontario, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Jewish	91.3	1. Jewish	92.1
2. British	83.9	2. Italian	85.0
3. Italian	81.1	3. British	83.4
4. Asiatic	78.0	4. Asiatic	83.3
5. Other European	68.5	5. Other European	72.2
6. French	62.4	6. Polish	62.5
7. Polish	56.2	7. French	58.1
8. Dutch	55.6	8. Ukrainian	57.6
9. Ukrainian	55.3	9. Dutch	56.5
10. German	50.2	10. German	49.0
11. Russian	37.1	11. Russian	38.6
12. Scandinavian	27.7	12. Scandinavian	28.7

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-69. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Manitoba, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Jewish	92.8	1. Jewish	96.8
2. British	77.4	2. British	79.1
3. Dutch	72.9	3. Asiatic	78.2
4. Asiatic	70.6	4. Dutch	74.1
5. Ukrainian	68.7	5. Ukrainian	65.4
6. German	63.4	6. Italian	62.9
7. French	62.9	7. German	61.7
8. Italian	57.8	8. French	58.3
9. Other European	50.4	9. Other European	53.6
10. Russian	46.9	10. Russian	47.7
11. Polish	44.6	11. Polish	45.4
12. Scandinavian	35.3	12. Scandinavian	34.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-70. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Saskatchewan, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Asiatic	78.4	1. Jewish	87.2
2. Jewish	76.7	2. Asiatic	84.9
3. British	70.6	3. British	71.5
4. Ukrainian	69.5	4. Ukrainian	66.5
5. German	57.9	5. Russian	58.1
6. Russian	55.8	6. German	56.5
7. Dutch	53.4	7. Dutch	52.7
8. French	50.3	8. Other European	51.7
9. Other European	48.8	9. French	46.5
10. Italian	42.2	10. Italian	45.2
11. Polish	38.3	11. Polish	38.9
12. Scandinavian	36.0	12. Scandinavian	37.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-71. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—Alberta, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Asiatic	83.8	1. Asiatic	88.0
2. Jewish	81.1	2. Jewish	87.9
3. British	70.6	3. British	71.1
4. Ukrainian	66.5	4. Italian	64.4
5. Italian	61.1	5. Ukrainian	63.2
6. Dutch	57.6	6. Dutch	59.4
7. German	54.4	7. German	53.0
8. Other European	45.4	8. Other European	48.6
9. French	43.0	9. Polish	40.6
10. Russian	40.2	10. Russian	40.5
11. Polish	38.6	11. French	39.9
12. Scandinavian	31.8	12. Scandinavian	32.8

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-72. Decreasing Rate of Male and Female Endogamy (percentages)—British Columbia, 1961

Males		Females	
1. Asiatic	92.4	1. Asiatic	93.7
2. British	79.0	2. Jewish	81.6
3. Jewish	78.0	3. British	79.4
4. Italian	62.0	4. Italian	66.9
5. Russian	60.0	5. Russian	56.7
6. Dutch	55.0	6. Dutch	55.3
7. German	47.2	7. Other European	48.4
8. Other European	46.4	8. German	45.3
9. Ukrainian	39.0	9. Ukrainian	35.9
10. Scandinavian	31.2	10. Scandinavian	33.2
11. Polish	30.8	11. Polish	30.8
12. French	26.7	12. French	24.7

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-73. Rate of Reciprocal Exogamy of those of French or British Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961

	% of French married to British		% of British married to French	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Canada	8.5	9.7	5.8	4.9
Newfoundland	59.4	57.4	1.9	2.0
Prince Edward Island	27.2	31.2	5.9	4.9
Nova Scotia	52.4	40.2	6.6	6.1
New Brunswick	11.7	14.1	8.2	6.6
Quebec	2.6	3.3	20.6	16.7
Ontario	28.9	31.0	4.5	4.2
Manitoba	20.7	23.6	4.2	3.5
Saskatchewan	24.6	27.0	3.7	3.2
Alberta	31.6	33.7	4.2	3.6
British Columbia	48.1	51.0	3.3	3.1

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.

Table A-74. Rate of Male and Female Endogamy and Exogamy with those of British or French Origin for Selected Ethnic Origin Categories (percentages)—Canada and Provinces, 1961

Males ¹	Dutch			German			Italian			Jewish			Polish		
	E ²	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F
Canada	55.0	31.0	3.3	52.0	30.7	4.5	76.7	10.8	6.5	91.1	3.6	1.1	49.0	16.4	4.0
New Brunswick	19.0	69.4	5.7	17.4	67.7	8.8	26.7	43.6	20.9	81.3	12.9	1.4	22.2	43.7	11.9
Quebec	48.7	28.9	14.3	52.1	16.8	21.2	76.5	3.6	17.7	92.9	1.8	1.7	57.9	8.9	10.6
Ontario	55.6	33.8	3.0	50.2	36.9	4.2	81.1	10.8	2.6	91.3	3.9	0.6	56.2	16.5	3.3
Manitoba	72.9	14.5	2.0	63.4	18.5	2.9	57.8	19.2	5.3	92.8	3.1	0.6	44.6	12.4	2.7
Saskatchewan	53.4	25.3	2.3	57.9	22.2	3.0	42.2	28.6	4.0	76.7	11.7	1.5	38.3	13.4	2.0
Alberta	57.6	23.6	2.5	54.4	26.0	3.2	61.1	17.6	2.7	81.1	9.4	1.4	38.6	16.6	3.3
British Columbia	55.0	28.8	2.3	47.2	32.3	3.3	62.0	22.6	2.0	78.4	13.1	0.6	38.8	32.2	3.2
Females															
Canada	55.6	30.9	2.8	51.0	29.9	3.6	82.3	8.8	3.4	93.0	1.9	0.4	53.1	15.6	3.0
Newfoundland	37.7	50.8	1.6	33.0	57.5	4.0	34.4	62.5	3.1	66.7	25.0		42.8	35.7	
Prince Edward Island	40.2	51.8	4.5	10.9	77.0	5.2	18.8	68.8	6.2	66.7	33.3		38.5	53.8	
Nova Scotia	26.0	55.9	6.1	39.8	45.2	6.8	34.2	46.4	6.6	80.8	10.9	0.3	33.1	40.5	9.0
New Brunswick	18.6	71.9	5.0	17.0	67.0	7.0	38.6	36.0	18.0	87.2	5.1	2.0	28.3	51.0	4.7
Quebec	50.4	27.4	10.8	52.6	16.8	13.4	86.7	2.8	8.5	94.3	0.8	0.6	67.4	6.1	6.0
Ontario	56.5	33.0	2.6	49.0	34.9	3.3	85.0	8.4	1.7	92.1	2.3	0.2	62.5	13.9	2.5
Manitoba	74.1	15.0	1.4	61.7	19.5	2.3	62.9	19.1	3.0	96.8	1.2	0.1	45.4	14.0	2.3
Saskatchewan	52.7	26.9	2.0	56.5	22.4	2.8	45.2	26.3	3.7	87.2	3.9	0.2	38.9	15.0	2.4
Alberta	59.4	25.5	1.9	53.0	25.5	2.8	64.4	17.0	1.8	87.9	4.8	0.4	40.6	18.2	2.9
British Columbia	55.5	27.9	2.0	45.3	32.1	3.2	66.9	19.9	1.8	81.6	9.7	1.7	30.8	33.0	3.3

Table A-74. (cont'd.)

Males ¹	Russian			Scandinavian			Ukrainian			Other European			Asiatic		
	E ²	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F
Canada	47.7	16.4	2.6	31.2	45.1	5.1	61.8	14.6	3.3	60.6	16.0	5.1	79.9	10.0	4.1
New Brunswick	23.0	41.9	4.0	20.6	58.9	14.8	12.1	69.0	6.9	31.5	42.2	14.2	43.7	33.8	18.2
Quebec	46.6	9.5	6.7	22.8	41.4	26.2	54.2	11.6	13.1	66.4	7.0	14.9	67.4	8.2	17.6
Ontario	37.1	18.7	2.5	27.7	49.0	6.2	55.3	19.5	4.2	68.5	14.0	2.8	78.0	12.5	2.9
Manitoba	46.9	13.2	1.6	35.3	42.0	4.5	68.7	9.8	2.3	50.4	16.5	6.8	70.6	14.1	2.2
Saskatchewan	55.8	11.0	2.0	36.0	39.6	3.4	69.5	9.1	1.7	48.8	17.0	4.0	78.4	8.6	1.6
Alberta	40.2	21.3	2.0	31.8	42.6	3.9	66.5	11.6	2.5	45.4	21.3	3.8	83.8	7.8	1.0
British Columbia	60.0	18.5	1.6	31.2	47.7	3.5	39.0	30.7	3.4	46.4	27.7	2.9	92.4	4.1	0.5
Females															
Canada	Russian			Scandinavian			Ukrainian			Other European			Asiatic		
	E ²	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F	E	B	F
Canada	48.4	16.3	2.2	32.5	45.7	4.1	60.6	14.8	2.5	64.4	15.9	3.5	86.0	7.5	1.8
Newfoundland	31.2	37.5	6.2	9.4	77.1	5.2	14.3	64.3	3.6	31.8	54.5	2.3	71.4	25.4	1.6
Prince Edward Island	85.7	14.3	8.0	11.7	76.6	6.5	10.0	50.0	10.0	13.6	63.6	9.1	66.7	29.2	2.1
Nova Scotia	27.9	32.2	8.0	15.6	67.2	6.0	32.1	43.8	5.9	33.4	43.2	7.4	58.6	31.2	4.0
New Brunswick	28.2	40.0	1.7	22.7	63.4	7.8	9.5	71.6	4.0	32.1	46.6	9.9	56.4	28.4	7.8
Quebec	49.4	7.0	4.0	27.0	40.9	19.2	65.3	9.3	8.4	73.6	6.4	8.4	80.6	5.5	7.9
Manitoba	38.6	16.4	1.9	28.7	50.2	4.8	57.6	18.1	2.8	72.3	13.0	2.0	83.3	9.2	1.4
Ontario	47.7	15.0	1.8	34.6	45.5	3.6	65.4	10.9	2.1	53.6	19.1	5.8	78.2	12.4	1.8
Saskatchewan	58.1	11.6	1.5	37.0	40.4	3.0	66.5	9.2	1.4	51.7	18.0	3.8	84.9	7.4	0.7
Alberta	40.5	22.4	2.4	32.8	42.9	3.3	63.2	13.3	2.2	48.6	22.2	3.1	88.0	6.2	1.0
British Columbia	56.7	19.9	2.0	33.2	47.1	3.1	35.8	31.8	3.4	48.4	28.6	2.9	93.7	3.8	0.3

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 93-520.
1The rate of male endogamy and exogamy has not been calculated for Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and Nova Scotia, because of the small population of other than British ethnic origin in these provinces.

2E: Rate of endogamy;
B: Rate of exogamy with those of British origin;
F: Rate of exogamy with those of French origin.

Table A-75. Cultural Homogeneity of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories (percentages)—Canada, 1941

Ethnic origin	Rate of ethnic endogamy ¹	Mother tongue retention rate	Religion retention rate
Japanese	99	97	—
Jewish	95	76	99
Indian	95	—	50
French	93	94	97
Negro	90	—	85*†
Ukrainian	80	92	62
Chinese	75	97	—
Hungarian	68	80	70
Finnish	64	88	97†
Czech and Slovak	62	72	75
English	59	99	90†
Yugoslav	59	58*	76*
German	58	53	72†
Russian	56	55	44†
Italian	55	71	91
Dutch	53	61‡	90†
Polish	51	71	81
Greek	50	73*	65*
Syrian	49	—	—
Icelandic	42	81*	92*†
Roumanian	41	60	47
Belgian	36	47	85
Austrian	35	26‡	58
Scottish	34	97	88†
Irish	34	98	66†
Norwegian	27	66*	96*†
Swedish	22	67*	94*†
Danish	17	61*	91*†
Welsh	6	—	—

Source: Charles, *The Changing Size of the Family in Canada*.¹ Percentage of fathers of legitimate children born in 1941 whose wives were of the same ethnic origin.

— Dash indicates data not available.

* 1931 figures.

† Religion was Protestant.

‡ Mother tongue was English.

Table A-76. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	2,031,246	59,796	32,247	68,106	7,230	644	11,626	35,290	19,140	55,078
Baptist	433,404	16,838	19,918	52,557	1,572	147	4,172	12,147	6,113	3,039
Greek Orthodox	2,711	819	148	1,278	244	91	9,752	282	119,219	32
Jewish	6,910	1,276	398	2,075	228	168,663	27,204	151	671	31
Lutheran	66,586	7,524	10,205	292,907	1,253	127	10,586	147,886	6,590	204
Mennonite	3,620	1,800	58,240	73,935	433	5	466	1,032	711	245
Pentecostal	93,174	5,275	5,066	14,651	2,013	23	2,006	6,740	3,372	2,488
Presbyterian	692,681	16,623	17,574	26,313	2,290	191	3,120	11,537	5,483	2,992
Roman Catholic	1,415,312	5,315,537	77,987	256,583	418,951	1,301	210,271	28,233	79,638	121,148
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	3,549	1,615	211	1,193	434	21	10,681	377	157,559	68
United	2,853,937	87,485	103,508	186,989	11,924	932	25,229	113,598	59,825	27,321
Other	393,539	25,758	104,177	73,012	3,779	1,199	8,404	29,261	15,016	7,475

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-77. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Canada, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	25.4	1.1	7.5	6.5	1.6	0.4	3.6	9.1	4.0	25.0
Baptist	5.4	0.3	4.6	5.0	0.3	0.1	1.3	3.1	1.3	1.4
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	3.0	0.1	25.2	*
Jewish	0.1	*	0.1	0.2	0.1	97.3	8.4	*	0.1	*
Lutheran	0.8	0.1	2.4	27.9	0.3	0.1	3.3	38.3	1.4	0.1
Mennonite	*	*	13.6	7.0	0.1	*	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1
Pentecostal	1.2	0.1	1.2	1.4	0.4	*	0.6	1.7	0.7	1.1
Presbyterian	8.7	0.3	4.1	2.5	0.5	0.1	1.0	3.0	1.2	1.4
Roman Catholic	17.7	95.9	18.2	24.4	93.0	0.8	65.0	7.3	16.8	55.0
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	0.1	*	3.3	0.1	33.3	*
United	35.7	1.6	24.1	17.8	2.6	0.5	7.8	29.4	12.6	12.4
Other	4.9	0.5	24.2	7.0	0.8	0.7	2.6	7.6	3.2	3.4

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-78. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Newfoundland, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	127,160	1,672	58	277	9	3	8	297	15	93
Baptist	578	33	6	34				4		1
Greek Orthodox	1						2	1	18	
Jewish	15			3		127	56		1	
Lutheran	53	5	18	310			5	106		
Mennonite	17		4	10				1		
Pentecostal	19,967	107	7	53	1		3	12		6
Presbyterian	2,379	22	28	32		41	2	23		1
Roman Catholic	144,688	14,186	154	667	218		136	441	6	555
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	125	2						1	51	
United	94,810	883	101	351	11	8	27	218	21	28
Other	39,106	261	86	92	7	1	2	97	17	727

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-79. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Newfoundland, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	29.6	9.7	12.5	15.1	3.6	1.6	3.2	24.7	10.6	6.5
Baptist	0.1	0.2	1.2	1.8				0.3		*
Greek Orthodox	*					70.5	0.8	*	12.7	
Jewish	*	*		0.2			23.0		0.7	
Lutheran	*		3.8	16.9			2.0	8.8		
Mennonite	*		0.9	0.5				*		
Pentecostal	4.6	0.6	1.5	2.8	*		1.2	1.0		0.4
Presbyterian	0.6	0.1	6.0	1.7			0.8	1.9		*
Roman Catholic	33.7	82.6	33.3	36.4	88.6	22.7	55.9	36.7	4.2	39.3
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*					0.8	*	36.1	
United	22.1	5.1	21.8	19.1	4.4	4.4	11.1	18.1	14.8	1.9
Other	9.1	1.5	18.6	5.0	2.8	0.6	0.8	8.0	12.0	51.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-80. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Prince Edward Island, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	5,575	108	71	59	4	5	3	48	2	2
Baptist	5,655	66	85	72	3		1	27	1	
Greek Orthodox				1		10			7	
Jewish	2									
Lutheran	25		14	21				29	2	
Mennonite	1									
Pentecostal	400	15	5	1				2		
Presbyterian	12,293	133	139	67	4		1	53	2	
Roman Catholic	30,210	16,722	372	176	49		59	61	16	225
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	30	3	1						11	
United	26,061	317	421	228	33		16	190	24	9
Other	3,249	54	179	39	10		2	17	1	

Source: Henrripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-81. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Prince Edward Island, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	6.6	0.6	5.5	8.8	3.8	33.3	3.6	11.2	3.0	0.8
Baptist	6.7	0.4	6.5	10.8	2.9		1.2	6.3	1.5	
Greek Orthodox	*		*	0.2		66.6			10.6	
Jewish	*									
Lutheran	*		1.0	3.1				6.7	3.0	
Mennonite										
Pentecostal	0.5	*	0.4	0.2				0.5		
Presbyterian	14.7	0.8	10.7	10.0	3.8		1.2	12.4	3.0	
Roman Catholic	36.1	96.0	28.8	26.5	47.5		71.9	14.2	24.2	95.3
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*						16.6	
United	31.2	1.8	32.6	34.3	32.0		19.5	44.4	36.3	3.8
Other	3.8	0.3	13.8	5.8	9.7		2.4	3.9	1.5	

Source: Henrripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-82. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Nova Scotia, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	99,335	5,988	7,373	13,502	304	41	228	1,204	173	50
Baptist	72,635	3,030	4,685	8,098	102	36	31	617	29	39
Greek Orthodox	14	1	1	8			8		69	
Jewish	49	3	5	34	3	1,454	174	1	3	
Lutheran	2,150	766	1,032	6,214	17	10	19	703		4
Mennonite	16	1	9	4						
Pentecostal	3,472	177	246	381	5	5	7	28	4	2
Presbyterian	36,739	903	677	1,552	63	16	61	341	33	15
Roman Catholic	160,402	71,825	4,627	4,710	2,891	65	2,279	1,217	672	3,117
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	161	32	4	20	2		40	2	534	1
United	137,702	4,394	5,245	9,736	302	34	231	1,430	202	34
Other	12,773	763	1,347	1,182	30	11	28	188	25	9

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-83. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Nova Scotia, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	18.9	6.8	29.1	29.7	8.1	2.4	7.3	21.0	9.8	1.5
Baptist	13.8	3.4	18.5	17.8	2.7	2.1	1.0	10.7	1.6	1.1
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	*			0.3		3.9	
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	86.9	5.6	*	0.2	
Lutheran	0.4	0.9	4.0	13.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	12.2	1.0	0.1
Mennonite	*	*	*	*						
Pentecostal	0.7	0.2	1.0	0.8	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.5	2.2	*
Presbyterian	6.9	1.0	2.6	3.4	1.6	1.0	1.9	5.9	1.8	0.5
Roman Catholic	30.5	81.7	18.3	10.3	77.7	3.8	73.3	21.2	38.1	95.2
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	*		1.2	*	30.2	*
United	26.2	4.9	20.7	21.4	8.1	2.0	7.4	24.9	11.4	1.0
Other	2.4	0.9	5.3	2.6	0.8	0.7	0.9	3.2	1.4	0.3

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-84. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—New Brunswick, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	61,032	1,872	1,240	941	63	27	67	1,127	59	11
Baptist	83,811	2,178	2,683	2,604	72	7	34	789	26	10
Greek Orthodox	5	1					7		26	
Jewish	38	9	2	3		778	93	1		
Lutheran	194	23	95	483	2		2	733	2	
Mennonite	2	1		2						
Pentecostal	10,698	393	283	168	32	1	1	241	2	1
Presbyterian	12,608	301	154	142	7		4	158	2	8
Roman Catholic	74,616	225,003	1,236	1,380	907	20	339	909	111	2,861
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	64	70		1	3	1	1	1	80	
United	78,363	1,834	1,696	1,413	102	17	68	810	63	16
Other	8,509	442	493	249	22	8	17	132	8	14

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-85. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—New Brunswick, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	18.4	0.8	15.7	12.7	5.2	3.1	10.5	22.9	15.5	0.4
Baptist	25.4	0.9	34.0	35.2	5.9	0.8	5.3	16.0	6.8	0.3
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	*			1.1	*	6.8	
Jewish	*	*	*			90.5	14.2	*		
Lutheran	*	*	1.2	6.5	0.2		0.3	14.9	0.5	
Mennonite	*	*		*						
Pentecostal	3.2	0.2	3.5	2.2	2.6	0.1	0.2	4.9	0.5	*
Presbyterian	3.8	0.1	1.9	1.9	0.6		0.6	3.2	0.5	
Roman Catholic	22.6	96.9	15.6	18.6	74.9	2.3	53.5	18.5	29.2	97.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		*		0.1	0.2	*	21.1	
United	23.7	0.8	21.5	19.1	8.4	1.9	10.7	16.5	16.6	0.5
Other	2.5	0.2	6.2	3.3	1.8	0.9	2.6	2.6	2.1	0.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-86. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	162,773	9,768	1,344	3,128	648	93	637	1,868	700	6,044
Baptist	10,214	2,496	190	451	98	12	135	146	62	25
Greek Orthodox	444	423	16	114	46	68	772	30	3,852	6
Jewish	2,165	868	134	830	131	73,454	7,446	24	202	18
Lutheran	1,286	535	271	11,500	107	23	271	2,420	67	6
Mennonite	69	11	18	37			5	6		
Pentecostal	2,609	1,701	37	182	638	3	28	66	61	74
Presbyterian	45,641	4,465	601	1,162	419	36	188	517	179	31
Roman Catholic	202,823	4,203,633	4,341	16,559	105,071	631	19,652	3,755	5,495	14,084
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	235	489	1	47	83	5	409	15	4,630	2
United	125,961	9,154	2,567	3,854	818	76	851	2,058	1,042	670
Other	12,837	7,811	922	1,593	493	276	396	390	298	383

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-87. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	28.7	0.2	12.8	7.9	0.6	0.1	2.0	16.5	4.2	28.3
Baptist	1.8	*	1.8	1.1	*	*	0.4	1.2	0.4	0.1
Greek Orthodox	*	*	0.2	0.3	*	*	2.5	0.3	23.2	*
Jewish	0.4	*	1.2	2.1	0.1	98.3	24.1	0.2	1.2	*
Lutheran	0.2	*	2.5	29.1	*	*	0.9	21.4	0.4	*
Mennonite	*	*	0.2	*			*	*		
Pentecostal	0.5	*	0.4	0.5	0.6	*	*	0.6	0.4	0.3
Presbyterian	8.0	0.1	5.7	2.9	0.4	*	0.6	4.5	1.0	0.1
Roman Catholic	35.7	99.1	41.5	41.9	96.7	0.8	63.8	33.2	33.1	65.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	1.3	0.1	27.9	*
United	22.2	0.2	24.5	9.7	0.8	0.1	2.7	18.2	6.2	3.1
Other	2.2	0.2	8.8	4.0	0.5	0.4	1.2	3.4	1.7	1.7

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-88. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Ontario, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	960,765	26,415	13,803	29,694	4,008	262	5,351	8,572	7,808	14,201
Baptist	191,561	6,672	7,552	16,126	989	53	1,814	2,846	2,451	2,200
Greek Orthodox	1,101	181	52	471	136	17	3,630	45	27,498	5
Jewish	3,638	311	204	947	76	63,646	18,098	73	347	12
Lutheran	26,226	2,766	3,372	115,959	581	29	2,706	19,945	1,384	81
Mennonite	2,089	1,587	2,944	21,622	396	2	80	405	164	27
Pentecostal	32,353	1,554	1,754	4,493	1,177	5	613	795	734	666
Presbyterian	421,653	7,868	10,855	16,329	1,358	103	1,758	3,493	2,862	1,263
Roman Catholic	569,553	552,886	43,282	93,760	257,362	360	102,073	5,999	28,668	18,470
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	1,208	551	72	307	233	6	2,568	44	36,580	24
United	1,337,916	38,864	48,444	72,559	5,698	353	8,150	17,865	16,529	8,203
Other	163,473	8,286	58,683	28,450	1,850	444	2,683	3,571	2,886	2,922

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-89. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Ontario, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	25.8	4.0	7.2	7.4	1.4	0.4	3.5	13.4	6.1	29.5
Baptist	5.1	1.0	3.9	4.0	0.4	*	1.2	4.4	1.9	4.6
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	2.4	*	21.4	*
Jewish	*	*	0.1	0.2	*	97.4	12.1	0.1	0.3	*
Lutheran	0.7	0.4	1.7	28.9	0.2	*	1.8	31.3	1.0	0.2
Mennonite	*	0.2	1.5	5.3	0.1	*	*	0.6	0.1	*
Pentecostal	0.9	0.2	0.9	1.1	0.4	*	0.4	1.2	0.6	1.3
Presbyterian	11.3	1.2	5.6	4.0	0.5	0.2	1.1	5.4	2.2	2.6
Roman Catholic	15.3	85.3	22.6	23.3	93.9	0.6	68.2	9.4	22.4	38.4
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	*	*	1.7	*	28.5	*
United	36.0	5.9	25.3	18.1	2.0	0.5	5.4	28.0	12.9	17.0
Other	4.4	1.2	30.7	7.0	0.7	0.7	1.7	5.6	2.2	6.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-90. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Manitoba, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	100,511	2,451	1,313	2,940	238	42	1,542	3,213	3,131	8,729
Baptist	8,044	276	652	4,886	25	11	425	792	713	29
Greek Orthodox	267	62	16	136	9		1,300	42	21,205	
Jewish	189	20	9	62	5	18,529	252	19	38	1
Lutheran	6,000	608	1,039	30,637	49	13	1,570	17,669	1,502	36
Mennonite	364	55	27,889	23,741	8		67	127	204	164
Pentecostal	3,784	231	515	1,228	6	2	275	447	566	447
Presbyterian	23,729	440	641	879	33	1	289	764	702	1,194
Roman Catholic	35,309	73,928	3,639	10,938	5,580	59	30,363	2,107	13,555	12,115
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	714	197	45	319	22	3	3,126	86	51,200	9
United	203,943	4,858	7,795	12,638	444	103	3,724	10,110	9,792	6,208
Other	13,591	810	4,227	3,442	57	135	1,438	2,370	2,764	495

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-91. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Manitoba, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	25.3	2.9	2.7	3.2	3.6	0.2	3.4	8.5	2.9	29.6
Baptist	2.0	0.3	1.3	5.3	0.4	*	1.0	2.0	0.7	*
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	0.1		2.9	0.1	20.1	
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	9.0	0.6	*	*	*
Lutheran	1.5	0.7	2.1	33.3	0.8	*	3.5	46.8	1.4	0.1
Mennonite	*	*	58.3	25.8	0.1		0.2	0.3	0.2	0.6
Pentecostal	1.0	0.3	1.0	1.3	*	*	0.6	1.1	0.5	1.5
Presbyterian	5.9	0.5	1.3	1.0	0.5	*	0.7	2.0	0.7	4.0
Roman Catholic	8.9	88.0	7.6	11.9	86.1	0.3	68.4	5.5	12.8	41.1
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	0.2	0.2	*	0.3	0.3	*	7.0	0.2	48.5	*
United	51.4	5.7	16.3	13.7	6.8	0.5	8.3	26.7	9.2	21.0
Other	3.4	1.0	8.8	3.7	0.9	0.7	3.2	6.2	2.6	1.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-92. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Saskatchewan, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	71,405	1,877	987	3,846	80	19	690	3,127	1,686	7,988
Baptist	7,227	188	520	3,436	16	7	322	1,534	912	136
Greek Orthodox	219	34	17	173	2	1	1,089	53	23,685	1
Jewish	72	4	5	26	3	2,084	73	1	16	
Lutheran	9,314	726	959	39,515	63	16	1,831	30,608	1,219	24
Mennonite	398	41	12,309	11,713	4		136	276	159	15
Pentecostal	4,053	163	534	1,735	15	1	169	1,446	265	107
Presbyterian	19,229	308	521	1,160	14	6	125	956	322	345
Roman Catholic	36,794	50,063	2,791	63,796	1,817	18	18,873	3,488	9,251	18,650
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	360	86	28	229	8	6	1,931	110	29,952	9
United	205,556	5,273	7,905	25,198	329	83	2,832	21,571	8,699	2,116
Other	18,855	1,061	2,749	7,382	62	46	880	4,383	2,685	1,239

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-93. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Saskatchewan, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	19.1	3.1	3.3	2.4	3.3	0.8	2.3	4.6	2.1	26.0
Baptist	1.9	0.3	1.7	2.1	0.7	0.3	1.1	2.2	1.1	0.4
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	3.7	*	30.0	*
Jewish	*	*	*	*	0.1	91.1	0.3	*	*	*
Lutheran	2.4	1.2	3.2	24.9	2.6	0.7	6.3	45.3	1.5	*
Mennonite	0.1	*	41.9	7.4	0.2		0.5	0.4	0.2	*
Pentecostal	1.0	0.3	1.8	1.0	0.6	*	0.6	2.1	0.3	0.3
Presbyterian	5.1	0.5	1.7	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.4	1.4	0.4	1.1
Roman Catholic	9.8	83.6	9.5	40.3	75.3	0.8	65.1	5.1	11.7	60.8
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	0.1	*	0.1	0.3	0.3	6.6	0.2	37.9	*
United	55.0	8.8	26.9	15.9	13.6	3.6	9.7	31.9	11.0	6.9
Other	5.0	1.7	9.3	4.6	2.5	2.0	3.0	6.4	3.4	4.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-94. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Alberta, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	126,310	3,493	2,069	5,921	387	55	1,376	5,598	2,751	2,793
Baptist	21,189	846	1,560	10,520	65	6	683	2,907	1,203	270
Greek Orthodox	390	81	22	246	16	5	2,054	78	35,840	12
Jewish	209	14	8	46	2	4,001	439	13	24	12
Lutheran	11,562	1,136	1,453	56,146	124	9	2,422	36,687	1,557	12
Mennonite	338	61	5,740	8,589	22	65	114	114	25	25
Pentecostal	5,629	365	561	3,900	23	12	515	1,688	1,064	243
Presbyterian	42,405	918	1,975	2,878	75	53	298	2,427	755	56
Roman Catholic	71,162	63,519	8,649	38,629	12,697	121	24,220	5,355	14,038	21,983
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	421	132	33	196	27	121	2,113	94	29,751	17
United	273,127	10,341	14,446	37,230	1,240	91	5,028	31,332	15,371	2,581
Other	49,013	2,413	19,014	19,013	347		1,326	9,586	3,544	562

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-95. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Alberta, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	20.9	4.1	3.7	3.2	2.5	1.2	3.3	5.8	2.5	9.7
Baptist	3.5	1.0	2.8	5.7	0.4	0.1	1.6	3.0	1.1	0.9
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	0.1	0.1	5.0	*	33.8	*
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	91.9	1.0	*	*	*
Lutheran	1.9	1.3	2.6	30.6	0.8	0.2	5.9	38.2	1.4	*
Mennonite	*	*	10.3	4.6	0.1		0.2	0.1	*	*
Pentecostal	0.9	0.4	1.0	2.1	0.1		1.2	1.7	1.0	0.9
Presbyterian	7.0	1.1	3.5	1.5	0.5	0.3	0.7	2.5	0.7	0.2
Roman Catholic	11.8	76.2	15.5	21.0	84.5	1.2	59.7	5.5	13.2	76.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	0.2	*	0.1	0.2		5.2	*	28.0	*
United	45.3	12.4	26.0	20.3	8.2	2.7	12.4	32.6	14.5	9.0
Other	8.1	2.8	34.2	10.3	2.3	2.0	3.2	9.9	3.3	1.9

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Études des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-96. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—British Columbia, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	312,417	5,991	3,875	7,620	1,482	93	1,700	9,951	2,735	7,058
Baptist	32,092	1,024	1,935	6,286	199	15	722	2,462	709	75
Greek Orthodox	269	35	24	129	35		884	33	6,885	2
Jewish	532	47	30	119	8	4,574	572	19	40	
Lutheran	9,645	942	1,934	31,597	310	27	1,752	38,501	827	41
Mennonite	323	43	9,309	8,207	3	3	113	103	159	14
Pentecostal	10,067	558	1,117	2,468	116	6	394	1,978	663	801
Presbyterian	75,093	1,254	1,969	2,068	313	17	392	2,765	613	71
Roman Catholic	87,471	41,790	8,810	25,418	32,059	54	12,000	4,764	7,546	22,258
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	231	53	27	74	56		479	24	4,714	6
United	367,441	11,424	14,764	23,539	2,936	137	4,263	27,776	7,995	7,448
Other	71,300	3,809	16,382	11,401	882	187	1,599	8,416	2,754	1,040

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-97. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—British Columbia, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	32.3	8.9	6.4	6.4	3.8	1.8	6.8	10.2	7.6	18.1
Baptist	3.3	1.5	3.2	5.2	0.5	0.3	2.9	2.5	1.9	0.2
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	*		3.5	*	19.3	*
Jewish	*	*	*	0.1	*	89.4	2.2	*	0.1	
Lutheran	1.0	1.4	3.2	26.5	0.8	0.5	7.0	39.7	2.3	0.1
Mennonite	*	*	15.4	6.9	*	*	0.5	0.1	0.4	*
Pentecostal	1.0	0.8	1.8	2.0	0.3	0.1	1.5	2.0	1.8	2.0
Presbyterian	7.7	1.8	3.2	1.7	0.8	0.3	1.5	2.8	1.7	0.2
Roman Catholic	9.0	62.4	14.6	21.3	83.4	1.0	48.2	4.9	21.1	57.3
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	0.1		1.9	*	13.2	*
United	38.0	17.0	24.5	19.7	7.6	2.6	17.1	28.6	22.4	19.1
Other	7.3	5.6	27.2	9.5	2.2	3.6	6.4	8.6	7.7	2.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-98. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Yukon, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	2,533	119	70	119	2		16	171	59	1,214
Baptist	302	21	40	22	1		4	20	5	246
Greek Orthodox		1					2		53	6
Jewish	1									
Lutheran	96	11	16	338			6	316	4	
Mennonite			11	3						
Pentecostal	50	2	3	19			1	9	1	6
Presbyterian	658	7	12	36	4		2	30	6	3
Roman Catholic	1,099	728	47	311	177		176	37	118	693
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic							3		39	
United	1,786	79	80	148	5		17	138	41	5
Other	421	23	70	96	11		14	52	19	34

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-99. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Yukon, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	36.4	12.0	20.0	10.8	1.0		6.6	22.1	17.1	55.0
Baptist	4.3	2.1	11.4	2.0	0.5		1.6	2.5	1.4	11.1
Greek Orthodox		0.1					0.8		15.3	0.3
Jewish	*									
Lutheran	1.3	1.1	4.5	30.9			2.4	40.8	1.1	
Mennonite			3.1	0.3						
Pentecostal	0.7	0.2	0.9	1.7			0.4	1.1	0.3	0.3
Presbyterian	9.4	0.7	3.4	3.2	2.0		0.8	3.8	1.7	0.1
Roman Catholic	15.8	73.4	13.4	28.4	88.5		73.0	4.7	34.2	31.4
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic							1.2		11.3	
United	25.7	7.9	22.9	13.5	2.5		7.0	17.8	11.8	0.2
Other	6.0	2.3	20.0	8.7	5.5		5.8	6.7	5.5	1.5

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-100. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Northwest Territories, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	1,430	42	44	59	5	4	8	114	21	6,895
Baptist	96	8	10	22	2		1	3	2	8
Greek Orthodox	1						4		81	
Jewish	35	6	2	5		6	1		7	
Lutheran			7	187			2	169		
Mennonite	3		7	7						
Pentecostal	92	9	4	23	4			28	12	135
Presbyterian	254	4	2	8				10	1	5
Roman Catholic	1,185	1,254	39	239	123		101	100	117	6,137
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic							9		47	
United	1,271	64	44	95	6		22	100	50	3
Other	412	25	25	73	8		19	59	20	50

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-101. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Northwest Territories, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandi- navian	Ukrainian	Indian and Eskimo
Anglican	29.9	2.9	24.8	8.2	3.4	40.0	4.7	19.5	5.8	52.1
Baptist	2.0	0.6	5.6	3.0	1.3		0.6	0.5	0.6	*
Greek Orthodox	*					60.0	2.3		22.6	
Jewish				0.7			0.6			
Lutheran	0.7	0.4	1.1	26.0			1.1	28.9	1.9	
Mennonite	*		3.9	1.0						
Pentecostal	1.9	1.9	0.6	2.2	3.2			4.8	3.3	1.0
Presbyterian	5.3	0.3	1.1	1.1				1.7	0.3	*
Roman Catholic	24.7	88.8	22.0	33.2	85.4		60.4	17.1	32.6	46.3
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic							5.3		13.1	
United	26.5	4.5	24.8	13.2	4.1		13.1	17.1	13.9	*
Other	8.6	1.7	14.1	10.1	5.5		11.3	10.1	5.5	0.4

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

* Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-102. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Calgary, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	39,767	860	559	1,435	105	22	291	1,108	468
Baptist	6,848	225	414	1,964	27	6	152	553	185
Greek Orthodox	50	11	4	18	3		202	4	1,310
Jewish	108	10	5	19	1	1,762	257	1	11
Lutheran	2,396	211	351	9,727	38	3	301	5,710	251
Mennonite	30	7	294	748	4	21		8	
Pentecostal	1,502	63	176	513	3		59	220	69
Presbyterian	12,457	203	477	606	11	3	65	459	122
Roman Catholic	18,651	6,882	2,480	6,780	4,424	11	3,246	932	1,937
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	42	6	2	23	10		111	10	1,171
United	68,222	2,171	3,372	6,944	300	33	899	5,482	2,137
Other	10,633	490	3,025	2,983	68	34	215	1,451	372

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-103. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Calgary, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	24.7	7.7	5.0	4.5	2.1	1.1	5.0	6.9	5.8
Baptist	4.2	2.0	3.7	6.1	0.5	0.3	2.6	3.4	2.3
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	*	*		3.4	*	16.3
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	94.0	4.4	*	0.1
Lutheran	1.4	1.8	3.1	30.6	0.8	0.2	5.1	35.8	3.1
Mennonite	*	*	2.6	2.3	*		0.4	*	
Pentecostal	0.9	0.6	1.5	1.6	*		1.0	1.3	0.9
Presbyterian	7.7	1.8	4.2	1.9	0.2	0.2	1.1	2.8	1.5
Roman Catholic	11.6	61.7	22.2	21.3	88.5	0.6	55.7	5.8	24.1
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	0.2		1.9	*	14.5
United	42.4	19.4	30.2	21.8	6.0	1.7	15.4	34.3	26.6
Other	6.6	4.3	27.1	9.3	1.3	1.8	3.6	9.1	4.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-104. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Edmonton, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	34,248	1,002	498	1,410	105	27	446	1,295	925
Baptist	5,608	239	357	2,859	14		227	605	488
Greek Orthodox	205	48	8	120	5	3	829	26	12,947
Jewish	67	1	3	22	1	1,742	163	5	8
Lutheran	2,679	334	334	15,455	36	4	784	6,410	651
Mennonite	13	3	109	301				6	3
Pentecostal	1,067	88	75	1,168	3		203	272	415
Presbyterian	10,287	243	503	457	17	4	100	425	316
Roman Catholic	22,446	17,033	2,299	8,914	4,160	24	7,319	1,316	5,026
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	168	34	16	69	9		654	31	9,237
United	69,090	2,907	3,554	7,247	273	53	1,714	6,344	6,723
Other	8,582	532	6,073	3,400	89	42	461	1,122	1,425

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-105. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Edmonton, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	22.1	4.4	3.6	3.4	2.2	1.4	3.4	7.2	2.4
Baptist	3.6	1.0	2.5	6.9	0.3		1.7	3.3	1.2
Greek Orthodox	0.1	0.2	*	0.3	0.1	0.2	6.4	0.1	33.9
Jewish	*	*	*	*	*	91.7	1.2	*	*
Lutheran	1.7	1.4	2.4	37.3	0.8	0.2	6.0	35.8	1.7
Mennonite	*	*	0.8	0.7				*	*
Pentecostal	0.7	0.4	0.5	2.8	*		1.5	1.5	1.0
Presbyterian	6.6	1.0	3.6	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.8	2.3	0.8
Roman Catholic	14.5	75.8	16.6	21.5	88.2	1.2	56.7	7.3	13.1
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2		0.2	0.2	24.2
United	44.7	12.9	25.6	17.4	5.7	2.7	13.2	35.5	17.6
Other	5.5	2.3	43.9	8.2	1.8	2.2	3.5	6.2	3.7

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-106. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Halifax, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	38,582	1,790	2,410	2,896	94	18	87	537	88
Baptist	9,117	372	572	857	24	5	9	168	5
Greek Orthodox	10	1	1	7			5		28
Jewish	27		5	33	3	640	121	1	3
Lutheran	574	83	208	800	5		11	323	7
Mennonite	2		1	3					
Pentecostal	545	28	47	49			1	6	
Presbyterian	4,923	134	163	207	1	10	7	72	7
Roman Catholic	46,912	14,770	1,647	2,349	751	26	344	566	162
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	46	8		8			2	1	55
United	31,777	1,002	1,438	2,042	71	12	65	423	69
Other	2,450	113	264	176	6	6	13	66	8

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-107. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Halifax, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	28.5	9.7	35.6	30.7	9.8	2.5	13.0	24.8	20.3
Baptist	6.7	2.0	8.4	9.0	2.5	0.7	1.3	7.7	1.1
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	*			0.8		6.4
Jewish	*		*	0.4	0.3	89.2	18.1	*	0.7
Lutheran	0.4	0.5	3.0	8.4	0.5		1.6	14.9	1.6
Mennonite	*		*	*					
Pentecostal	0.4	0.2	0.7	0.5			0.2	0.3	
Presbyterian	3.6	0.7	2.4	2.1	0.1	1.3	1.0	3.3	1.6
Roman Catholic	34.7	80.7	24.3	24.9	78.6	3.6	52.5	26.1	37.5
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		*			0.3	*	12.7
United	23.5	5.4	21.2	21.6	7.4	1.6	9.9	19.5	15.9
Other	1.8	0.6	3.9	1.8	0.6	0.8	1.9	3.0	1.8

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-108. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Hamilton, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	70,260	1,619	959	2,359	394	12	694	500	706
Baptist	13,001	386	540	1,055	121	6	158	136	199
Greek Orthodox	100	14	3	43	11		336	3	2,428
Jewish	196	13	6	50	3	2,102	424	7	29
Lutheran	1,113	88	167	5,747	36	2	208	1,060	82
Mennonite	36	6	58	125			1	1	7
Pentecostal	1,486	58	64	226	80	2	58	11	29
Presbyterian	34,658	476	960	1,100	263	9	238	237	294
Roman Catholic	35,547	10,652	2,143	4,963	23,877	12	10,660	306	2,234
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	85	10	4	23	26		301	2	3,204
United	77,113	1,848	3,035	4,785	575	25	948	886	1,433
Other	11,909	374	7,066	1,118	174	17	289	188	286

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-109. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Hamilton, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	28.6	10.4	6.3	10.9	1.5	0.5	4.8	14.9	6.4
Baptist	5.2	2.4	3.5	4.8	0.5	0.3	1.1	4.0	1.8
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.2	*		2.3	*	22.2
Jewish	*	*	*	0.2	*	96.1	2.9	0.2	0.3
Lutheran	0.5	0.6	1.1	26.6	0.1	*	1.4	31.7	0.8
Mennonite	*	*	0.4	0.6			*	*	*
Pentecostal	0.6	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.3	*	0.4	0.3	0.3
Presbyterian	14.1	3.0	6.3	5.0	1.0	0.4	1.6	7.1	2.6
Roman Catholic	14.4	68.5	14.2	22.9	93.4	0.5	74.4	9.1	20.4
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	0.1		2.1	*	29.3
United	31.4	11.8	20.2	22.1	2.2	1.1	6.6	26.5	13.1
Other	4.8	2.6	47.0	5.1	0.7	0.8	2.0	5.6	2.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-110. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Kitchener, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	13,699	306	165	1,599	33	5	57	95	61
Baptist	4,301	163	188	2,017	35	1	80	62	35
Greek Orthodox	3			9	1		21	6	224
Jewish	35	2	8	12		315	192		1
Lutheran	4,569	474	229	20,090	70	3	387	344	136
Mennonite	277	233	251	3,139	147		17	75	34
Pentecostal	781	54	21	625	2		24	11	27
Presbyterian	10,650	203	264	1,746	35	4	63	75	65
Roman Catholic	11,391	3,810	736	16,027	1,210	8	4,112	91	757
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	9	2		16			32		603
United	16,504	511	457	3,808	93	1	130	208	174
Other	4,807	310	916	5,362	83		118	104	46

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-111. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Kitchener, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	20.4	5.0	5.1	2.9	1.9	1.4	1.0	8.8	2.8
Baptist	6.4	2.6	5.8	3.7	2.0	0.3	1.5	5.7	1.6
Greek Orthodox	*			*	*		0.4	0.6	10.3
Jewish	*	*	0.2	*		93.4	3.6		*
Lutheran	6.8	7.8	7.0	36.8	4.0	0.9	7.3	32.1	6.2
Mennonite	0.4	3.8	7.7	5.7	8.6		0.3	7.0	1.5
Pentecostal	1.1	0.9	0.6	1.1	0.1		0.5	1.0	1.2
Presbyterian	15.8	3.3	8.1	3.2	2.0	1.1	1.2	7.0	3.0
Roman Catholic	16.9	62.7	22.7	29.4	70.8	2.2	78.5	8.4	34.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		*			0.6		27.8
United	24.6	8.4	14.1	6.9	5.4		2.4	19.4	8.0
Other	7.1	5.1	28.3	9.8	4.8	0.3	2.2	9.7	2.1

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-112. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of London, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	40,483	719	487	1,334	173	4	187	305	193
Baptist	10,033	250	293	585	41	3	37	100	72
Greek Orthodox	20	2		12			107	1	485
Jewish	71		6	26	5	463	221	5	5
Lutheran	682	51	76	2,722	13		72	633	15
Menonite	19		2	70		1	9	3	
Pentecostal	959	40	53	94	44		36	19	27
Presbyterian	11,169	161	282	458	25		25	125	26
Roman Catholic	16,167	3,528	2,876	2,272	2,968	3	2,349	169	358
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	10	3	2	3	3	1	42		354
United	47,471	928	1,447	2,435	147	12	241	560	265
Other	5,471	154	1,521	416	48	10	32	71	34

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-113. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of London, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	30.5	12.3	6.9	12.7	4.9	0.8	5.5	15.3	10.5
Baptist	7.5	4.2	4.1	5.6	1.1	0.6	1.1	5.0	3.9
Greek Orthodox	*	*		0.1			3.1	*	26.4
Jewish	*		*	0.2	0.1	93.1	6.5	0.3	0.3
Lutheran	0.5	0.9	1.0	26.1	0.4		2.1	31.7	0.8
Menonite	*		*	0.7		0.2	0.3	0.2	
Pentecostal	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.2		1.0	1.0	1.4
Presbyterian	8.4	2.7	4.0	4.3	0.7		0.7	6.2	1.4
Roman Catholic	12.1	60.4	40.8	21.7	85.6	0.6	69.9	8.4	19.5
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	*	0.2	1.2		19.3
United	35.8	15.9	20.5	23.3	4.2	2.4	7.1	28.1	14.4
Other	4.1	2.6	21.5	3.9	1.3	2.0	1.0	3.5	1.8

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961 Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-114. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Montreal, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	111,685	5,538	863	2,157	545	84	499	1,132	567
Baptist	6,685	938	117	296	81	11	112	88	55
Greek Orthodox	371	339	14	100	43	48	709	25	3,453
Jewish	2,077	838	132	815	126	72,131	7,320	24	192
Lutheran	973	366	244	9,392	98	21	234	1,995	61
Mennonite	55	9	11	32			5	1	
Pentecostal	1,599	1,013	31	144	629	3	22	47	58
Presbyterian	35,808	2,504	490	917	376	31	160	356	143
Roman Catholic	126,668	1,332,315	2,684	10,210	98,291	412	15,875	1,961	4,612
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	128	192		36	79	5	343		4,269
United	82,682	5,086	1,820	2,505	750	60	718	1,385	868
Other	8,894	4,342	732	1,269	448	256	350	280	241

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-115. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Montreal, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	29.5	0.4	12.0	7.7	0.5	0.1	1.8	15.5	3.9
Baptist	1.7	*	1.6	1.0	*	*	0.4	1.2	0.4
Greek Orthodox	*	*	0.2	0.4	*	*	2.6	0.3	23.7
Jewish	0.6	*	1.8	2.9	0.1	98.7	27.7	0.3	1.3
Lutheran	0.3	*	3.4	33.6	*	*	0.9	27.3	0.4
Mennonite	*	*	0.2	0.1	*	*	*	*	
Pentecostal	0.4	*	0.4	0.5	0.6	*	*	0.6	0.4
Presbyterian	9.4	0.2	6.8	3.2	0.4	*	0.6	4.8	1.0
Roman Catholic	33.5	98.4	37.6	36.6	96.8	0.6	60.2	26.8	31.7
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		0.1	*	*	1.3		29.4
United	21.8	0.4	25.4	8.9	0.7	*	2.7	18.9	5.9
Other	2.3	0.3	10.2	4.5	0.4	0.4	1.3	3.8	1.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-116. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Ottawa, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	51,461	2,222	565	1,230	163	27	179	584	264
Baptist	5,222	448	215	267	13	4	48	75	31
Greek Orthodox	56	14	1	18	3		18	3	558
Jewish	172	32	3	64	6	3,455	370	5	50
Lutheran	1,228	230	175	4,560	18		116	752	14
Mennonite	8		2	39			1	2	
Pentecostal	884	67	46	72	20	1	19	10	11
Presbyterian	14,305	547	362	311	28	10	33	152	49
Roman Catholic	56,170	169,025	1,832	3,351	8,674	52	3,088	597	935
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	75	61		7	4		33	1	658
United	53,341	2,214	1,387	1,798	121	23	221	953	359
Other	6,305	514	997	583	44	77	56	184	56

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-117. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Ottawa, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	27.1	1.2	10.1	10.0	1.7	0.7	4.2	17.6	8.8
Baptist	2.7	0.3	3.8	2.1	0.1	0.1	1.1	2.2	1.0
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	*		1.8	*	18.6
Jewish	*	*	*	0.5	*	94.6	8.7	0.2	1.6
Lutheran	0.6	0.1	3.1	37.0	0.2		2.7	22.6	0.5
Mennonite	*		*	0.3			*	*	
Pentecostal	0.5	*	0.8	0.6	0.2	*	0.4	0.3	0.4
Presbyterian	7.5	0.3	6.4	2.5	0.3	0.3	0.8	4.5	1.6
Roman Catholic	29.6	96.3	32.8	27.2	95.3	1.4	72.7	17.9	31.3
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		*	*		0.8	*	22.0
United	28.1	1.2	24.8	14.6	1.3	0.6	5.2	28.7	12.0
Other	3.3	0.3	17.8	4.7	0.5	2.1	1.3	5.5	1.8

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-118. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	2,318	244	25	52	10	3	1	31	
Baptist	165	78	1	6	1		1	6	
Greek Orthodox	3	21					1		5
Jewish	28	6		1	2	364	10		
Lutheran	20	4	4	132		1	1	10	
Mennonite									
Pentecostal	4	8						5	
Presbyterian	604	204	8	39	7	1		4	
Roman Catholic	9,866	335,798	110	689	1,052	21	190	249	33
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	5	15			2		15		10
United	1,044	152	31	34	3		2	30	6
Other	152	302	8	43	3	10	3	7	2

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-119. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Quebec, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	16.3	*	13.3	5.2	0.9	0.8	0.4	9.0	
Baptist	1.1	*	0.5	0.6	*		0.4	1.7	
Greek Orthodox	*	*					0.4		8.9
Jewish	0.2	*		0.1	0.2	91.0	4.4		
Lutheran	0.1	*	2.1	13.2		0.3	0.4	2.9	
Mennonite	*	*							
Pentecostal	4.2	*	4.2	3.9	0.6	0.3		1.4	
Presbyterian	69.4	99.6	58.8	69.1	97.4	5.2	84.8	72.8	58.9
Roman Catholic	*	*			0.2		6.6		17.8
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	7.3	*	16.5	3.4	0.3		0.9	8.7	10.7
United	1.0	*	4.2	4.3	0.3	2.5	1.3	2.0	3.5
Other									

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-120. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Saint John, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	20,127	686	363	256	24	6	14	348	29
Baptist	12,676	366	410	226	11	3	20	144	3
Greek Orthodox	2						3		6
Jewish	11	3	2	3		325	42	1	
Lutheran	47	4	33	206			1	106	1
Mennonite		1							
Pentecostal	1,272	47	46	31	1		1	13	1
Presbyterian	2,378	42	31	41	3		1	23	
Roman Catholic	21,852	10,945	279	324	191	6	79	269	18
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	14	3			2				26
United	13,929	350	338	257	21	3	12	147	15
Other	1,961	76	51	34	6	7	7	33	1

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-121. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Saint John, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	27.1	5.4	23.3	18.5	9.2	1.7	7.7	32.1	29.0
Baptist	17.0	2.9	26.4	16.4	4.2	0.9	11.1	13.2	3.0
Greek Orthodox	*						1.6		6.0
Jewish	*	*	0.1	0.2		92.8	23.3	0.1	
Lutheran	*	*	2.1	14.9			0.6	9.7	1.0
Mennonite									
Pentecostal	1.7	0.4	2.9	2.2	0.4		0.6	1.1	1.0
Presbyterian	3.2	0.3	1.9	2.9	1.1		0.6	2.1	
Roman Catholic	29.4	87.3	17.9	23.5	73.7	1.7	43.8	24.8	18.0
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*			0.8				26.9
United	18.7	2.7	21.7	18.6	8.1	0.9	6.6	13.5	15.0
Other	2.6	0.6	3.2	2.4	2.3	2.0	3.8	3.0	1.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-122. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of St. John's, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	19,656	176	7	91	2	1	2	105	9
Baptist	266	12	4	12				4	
Greek Orthodox								1	4
Jewish	4			2		54	34		1
Lutheran	11	2		121			1	28	
Mennonite	8								
Pentecostal	632	4	1	3				2	
Presbyterian	1,558	13	24	9				8	5
Roman Catholic	43,200	916	54	194	69	14	40	197	11
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	43	2					2		6
United	18,021	159	25	99	4	2	14	76	8
Other	3,152	36	6	33		1		13	

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-123. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of St. John's, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	22.7	13.3	5.7	16.1	2.6	1.3	2.1	24.1	20.4
Baptist	0.3	0.9	3.3	2.1				0.9	
Greek Orthodox								0.2	
Jewish	*			0.4		75.0	36.5		9.0
Lutheran	*	0.2		21.4			1.0	6.4	2.2
Mennonite			0.8						
Pentecostal	0.7	0.3		0.5				0.5	
Presbyterian	1.8	1.0	19.8	1.5				1.8	11.3
Roman Catholic	49.9	69.3	44.6	34.3	92.0	19.4	43.0	45.3	25.0
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	0.2					2.1		13.6
United	20.8	12.0	20.6	17.5	5.3	2.7	15.0	17.5	18.1
Other	3.6	2.7	4.9	5.8		1.3		2.9	

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-124. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Sudbury, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	6,415	363	114	322	45	1	52	134	200
Baptist	1,277	102	23	141	10		29	50	80
Greek Orthodox	10	3		14	6		60		688
Jewish	19			2		137	16		4
Lutheran	330	46	58	1,165	30	1	34	335	69
Mennonite	2	8	6	38					
Pentecostal	205	5	12	29	2		10	16	16
Presbyterian	2,326	106	61	82	5		22	35	45
Roman Catholic	12,719	38,409	389	1,479	7,890	9	2,339	210	1,572
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	36	36	1	10	3		94	1	1,730
United	12,786	769	335	797	73	10	148	383	487
Other	959	165	65	136	16		41	28	51

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-125. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Sudbury, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	17.2	0.9	10.7	7.6	0.6	0.6	1.8	11.2	4.0
Baptist	3.4	0.3	2.1	3.3	0.1		1.0	4.1	1.6
Greek Orthodox	*	*		0.3	*		2.1		13.9
Jewish	*			*		86.7	0.6		*
Lutheran	0.9	0.1	5.4	27.6	0.4	0.6	1.1	28.1	1.3
Mennonite	*	*	0.6	0.9					
Pentecostal	0.6	*	1.1	0.7	*		0.4	1.3	0.3
Presbyterian	6.2	0.3	5.7	1.9	*		0.8	2.9	0.9
Roman Catholic	34.2	95.9	36.5	35.0	97.6	5.6	82.2	17.6	31.8
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.2	*		3.3	*	35.0
United	34.4	1.9	31.4	18.9	0.9	6.3	5.2	32.1	9.8
Other	2.5	0.4	6.1	3.2	0.2		1.4	2.3	1.0

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-126. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Toronto, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	351,333	6,417	3,639	6,965	1,576	127	1,778	2,367	2,153
Baptist	51,925	1,207	1,561	2,328	359	21	661	613	770
Greek Orthodox	523	52	34	192	66	10	1,643	16	11,574
Jewish	2,773	240	146	662	54	52,284	15,806	47	217
Lutheran	3,218	275	827	27,434	101	22	729	5,695	237
Mennonite	407	65	122	594	5	1	9	33	6
Pentecostal	4,765	167	162	351	717	1	150	161	255
Presbyterian	131,176	1,631	2,181	2,462	444	55	611	814	1,019
Roman Catholic	159,785	41,969	8,202	21,543	134,060	168	32,539	1,247	7,907
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	410	41	20	104	129	4	908	23	16,865
United	354,648	7,875	9,381	13,153	2,168	143	2,547	3,952	4,631
Other	46,240	1,482	7,159	4,512	699	287	1,197	1,082	1,016

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-127. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Toronto, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	31.7	10.4	10.8	8.6	1.1	0.2	3.0	14.7	4.6
Baptist	4.6	1.9	4.6	2.8	0.3	*	1.1	3.8	1.6
Greek Orthodox	*	*	0.1	0.2	*	*	2.8	0.1	24.8
Jewish	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.8	*	98.4	26.9	0.3	0.5
Lutheran	0.3	0.4	2.4	34.1	*	*	1.2	35.4	0.5
Mennonite	*	0.1	0.4	0.7	*	*	*	0.2	*
Pentecostal	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	*	0.3	1.0	0.5
Presbyterian	11.8	2.6	6.5	3.0	0.3	0.1	1.0	5.0	2.1
Roman Catholic	14.4	68.3	24.5	26.8	95.4	0.3	55.5	7.7	16.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	1.5	0.1	36.1
United	32.0	12.8	28.0	16.3	1.5	0.3	4.3	24.6	9.9
Other	4.1	2.4	21.4	5.6	0.5	0.5	2.0	6.7	2.1

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-128. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Vancouver, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	154,933	2,646	1,689	3,209	670	58	891	4,217	1,230
Baptist	18,468	437	1,050	3,430	107	11	388	1,295	407
Greek Orthodox	180	23	11	68	19		555	20	3,916
Jewish	457	45	25	92	7	4,360	522	17	35
Lutheran	5,298	427	1,005	15,110	170	21	811	20,608	455
Mennonite	117	6	1,804	2,614		3	42	34	70
Pentecostal	4,099	189	466	773	46	137	137	788	263
Presbyterian	42,051	691	972	985	170	13	214	1,299	363
Roman Catholic	44,806	19,642	3,788	10,881	15,300	32	6,092	1,975	3,790
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	106	25	16	40	26		285	11	2,607
United	184,054	4,674	6,221	9,457	1,316	105	2,072	11,035	4,033
Other	36,515	1,702	6,899	4,397	469	170	852	3,841	1,543

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-129. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Vancouver, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	31.5	8.6	7.0	6.2	3.6	1.2	6.9	9.3	6.5
Baptist	3.7	1.4	4.3	6.7	0.6	0.2	3.0	2.8	2.1
Greek Orthodox	*	*	*	0.1	0.1		4.3	*	20.9
Jewish	*	0.1	0.1	0.2	*	91.2	4.0	*	0.2
Lutheran	1.0	1.3	4.1	29.5	0.9	0.4	6.3	45.6	2.4
Mennonite	*	*	7.5	5.1		*	0.3	*	0.4
Pentecostal	0.8	0.6	1.9	1.5	0.3	*	1.0	1.7	1.4
Presbyterian	8.5	2.2	4.0	1.9	0.9	0.3	1.6	2.8	1.9
Roman Catholic	9.1	64.3	15.8	21.3	83.6	0.7	47.3	4.3	20.2
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	*	0.1		2.2	*	13.9
United	37.4	15.3	25.9	18.5	7.1	2.1	16.1	24.4	21.5
Other	7.4	5.5	28.8	8.6	2.5	3.5	6.6	8.5	8.2

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-130. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Victoria, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	52,876	764	392	712	152	24	153	1,007	220
Baptist	3,727	102	92	165	25		12	162	21
Greek Orthodox	17	2		4	7		27	1	199
Jewish	29		1	3		55	28		1
Lutheran	599	53	124	1,290	7		69	1,765	23
Mennonite	2		11	23			1		2
Pentecostal	881	37	39	90			11	96	20
Presbyterian	10,112		144	146	27	1	40	251	33
Roman Catholic	8,916	2,610	740	1,136	872	1	771	294	358
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	25	1		5	10		19	2	189
United	34,452	747	950	1,376	122	9	242	1,659	365
Other	8,178	223	718	391	43	1	73	486	78

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-131. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Victoria, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	44.1	16.4	12.2	13.3	12.0	26.3	10.5	17.5	14.5
Baptist	3.1	2.1	2.8	3.0	1.9		0.8	2.8	1.3
Greek Orthodox	*	*		*	0.6		1.8	#	13.1
Jewish	*		*	*		60.4	1.9		*
Lutheran	0.5	1.1	3.8	24.1	0.6		4.7	30.8	1.5
Mennonite	*		0.3	0.4			*		0.1
Pentecostal	0.7	0.8	1.2	1.6			0.8	1.6	1.3
Presbyterian	8.4	2.1	4.4	2.7	2.1	1.0	2.7	4.3	2.1
Roman Catholic	7.4	56.2	23.0	21.2	68.9	1.0	53.3	5.1	23.7
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*		*	0.8		1.3	*	12.5
United	28.7	16.1	29.5	25.7	9.6	9.8	16.7	28.9	24.1
Other	6.8	4.8	22.3	7.3	3.3	1.0	5.0	8.4	5.1

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-132. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Windsor, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	24,259	1,436	308	881	122	8	369	246	390
Baptist	4,436	366	144	436	26	4	118	62	95
Greek Orthodox	96	27	1	35	20		246	1	1,356
Jewish	73	2	1	25	5	1,354	317		10
Lutheran	600	114	86	2,457	16		84	364	60
Mennonite	7		14	43			1	2	
Pentecostal	666	54	41	167	2		58	31	24
Presbyterian	8,956	340	154	345	42	2	53	71	96
Roman Catholic	24,526	36,911	751	3,718	11,085	16	4,277	241	1,483
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	43	16	1	10	2	1	124		1,338
United	23,041	1,370	699	1,455	150	9	273	234	563
Other	3,506	256	146	372	41	14	77	40	93

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-133. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Windsor, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	26.8	3.5	13.1	8.8	1.0	0.6	6.1	19.0	7.0
Baptist	4.9	0.9	6.1	4.3	0.2	0.3	1.9	4.7	1.7
Greek Orthodox	0.1	*	*	0.4	0.2		4.1	*	24.6
Jewish	*	*	*	0.3	*	96.1	5.2		0.2
Lutheran	0.7	0.3	3.6	24.7	0.1		1.4	28.1	1.0
Mennonite	*		0.6	0.4			*	0.1	
Pentecostal	0.7	0.1	1.7	1.6	*		1.0	2.3	0.4
Presbyterian	9.9	0.8	6.5	3.4	0.4	0.1	0.9	5.4	1.7
Roman Catholic	27.1	90.2	32.0	37.3	96.2	1.1	71.3	18.6	26.9
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	*	*	*	0.1	*	*	2.0		24.2
United	25.5	3.3	29.7	14.6	1.3	0.6	4.5	18.1	10.2
Other	3.8	0.6	6.2	3.7	0.4	1.0	1.2	3.0	1.6

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-134. Religious Affiliation and Ethnic Origin—Metropolitan Census Area of Winnipeg, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	60,123	1,335	817	1,653	188	29	930	1,724	1,692
Baptist	4,492	138	327	2,867	23	9	246	379	348
Greek Orthodox	160	41	9	95	8		757	20	10,137
Jewish	177	19	9	57	5	18,049	237	19	37
Lutheran	3,649	382	558	18,940	39	11	237	7,525	949
Mennonite	173	30	3,492	8,898	4		52	52	131
Pentecostal	1,752	102	224	801	3		138	244	239
Presbyterian	12,647	219	342	522	26	1	147	337	313
Roman Catholic	22,754	34,162	2,445	7,359	5,073	47	16,984	1,132	8,314
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	409	110	26	226	20	3	1,518	53	24,354
United	99,581	2,774	4,018	6,762	351	86	2,369	5,280	6,082
Other	8,047	465	2,614	2,026	45	115	718	1,069	1,322

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

Table A-135. Percentage Distribution of Selected Ethnic Origin Categories, by Religious Affiliation—Metropolitan Census Area of Winnipeg, 1961

Church	British	French	Dutch	German	Italian	Jewish	Polish	Scandinavian	Ukrainian
Anglican	28.0	3.3	5.4	3.2	3.2	0.2	3.7	9.6	3.1
Baptist	2.0	0.3	2.1	5.7	0.4	*	1.0	2.1	0.6
Greek Orthodox	*	0.1	*	0.2	0.1		3.0	0.1	18.8
Jewish	*	*	*	0.1	*	98.3	1.0	0.1	*
Lutheran	1.7	1.0	3.7	37.7	0.7	*	3.2	42.1	1.7
Mennonite	*	*	23.4	17.7	*		0.2	0.3	0.2
Pentecostal	0.8	0.3	1.5	1.5	*		0.6	1.3	0.4
Presbyterian	5.9	0.6	2.2	1.0	0.4	*	0.6	1.8	0.6
Roman Catholic	10.6	85.8	16.4	14.6	87.6	0.3	68.1	6.3	15.4
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.3	*	6.0	0.3	45.1
United	46.5	6.9	27.0	13.4	6.0	0.5	9.5	29.6	11.2
Other	3.7	1.1	17.5	4.0	0.8	0.6	2.8	5.9	2.4

Source: Henripin, Charbonneau, and Mertens, "Étude des aspects démographiques des problèmes ethniques et linguistiques du Canada," and Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-559.

*Percentage less than 0.1.

Table A-136. Percentage Distribution by Level of Schooling of the Canadian-born Population 15 Years and Over, by Age Group, and of the Immigrant Population 15 Years and Over, by Period of Immigration and Age Group—Canada, 1961

	Total		Elementary			Secondary				Attended university	Graduated from university
	Number	%	No schooling	1-4 years	5 years or more	1-2 years	3 years	4-5 years			
Canada	12,046,325	100.0	1.5	7.1	35.5	22.8	9.8	16.7	3.6	2.9	2.9
Canadian-born population (15 years and over)	9,471,082	100.0	1.2	6.6	34.3	24.3	10.5	16.7	3.5	2.9	2.9
15-24	2,365,127	100.0	0.5	1.9	24.2	32.1	14.5	21.0	4.6	1.1	1.1
25-34	2,030,784	100.0	0.7	3.2	31.9	25.8	11.4	19.1	3.9	4.0	4.0
35-44	1,928,821	100.0	0.8	5.9	35.7	23.3	10.6	16.7	3.2	3.8	3.8
45-54	1,466,993	100.0	1.2	8.8	39.7	20.9	8.9	14.3	3.0	3.3	3.3
55-64	828,082	100.0	2.2	13.7	44.6	16.9	6.1	11.0	2.6	2.9	2.9
65 years and over	851,275	100.0	3.5	19.2	45.8	14.1	4.7	8.9	1.8	2.1	2.1
Immigrant population (15 years and over)	2,575,243	100.0	2.6	8.9	39.9	17.5	7.1	16.9	3.9	3.2	3.2
Before 1931	1,216,999	100.0	4.0	11.2	45.7	17.3	5.7	11.8	2.5	1.8	1.8
25-34	16,607	100.0	0.4	1.9	30.1	26.0	12.0	20.2	4.3	5.2	5.2
35-44	97,832	100.0	0.3	2.2	32.6	25.7	11.7	19.7	3.5	4.2	4.2
45-54	227,656	100.0	1.3	7.7	42.5	22.4	7.9	13.4	2.7	2.1	2.1
55-64	377,012	100.0	3.2	13.0	48.0	16.4	5.0	10.5	2.4	1.6	1.6
65 years and over	497,892	100.0	6.8	13.5	48.6	13.6	3.9	10.1	2.3	1.2	1.2
1931 to 1945	120,148	100.0	1.8	6.0	31.8	19.2	8.8	20.9	5.8	5.9	5.9
15-24	11,658	100.0	0.5	1.0	13.5	28.9	17.6	27.1	8.2	3.3	3.3
25-34	24,254	100.0	0.3	1.8	25.6	22.9	11.4	23.2	6.2	8.6	8.6
35-44	32,652	100.0	0.4	3.1	31.8	22.5	9.4	22.1	5.3	5.4	5.4
45-54	24,227	100.0	1.8	7.9	35.2	15.0	6.3	20.5	6.5	6.7	6.7
55-64	18,085	100.0	4.5	14.0	42.6	11.3	4.2	14.1	4.4	5.1	5.1
65 years and over	9,272	100.0	7.2	12.6	41.0	11.9	4.0	15.4	4.0	3.8	3.8
1946 to 1961	1,238,096	100.0	1.3	7.0	34.9	17.5	8.4	21.5	5.1	4.3	4.3
15-24	239,420	100.0	0.4	4.1	30.0	27.6	12.2	19.9	4.7	1.2	1.2
25-34	409,462	100.0	0.8	6.6	34.6	16.3	8.6	23.2	5.2	4.7	4.7
35-44	330,580	100.0	0.8	6.3	35.3	15.7	7.7	23.1	5.8	5.2	5.2
45-54	159,628	100.0	2.1	10.2	38.1	13.1	5.9	19.8	5.1	5.7	5.7
55-64	66,291	100.0	4.5	12.7	41.5	11.5	4.5	16.2	4.1	5.0	5.0
65 years and over	32,715	100.0	8.0	13.9	42.6	10.4	3.6	14.5	3.5	3.5	3.5

Source: Unpublished data, Census of Canada, 1961.

Table A-137. Population of Non-British, Non-French Ethnic Origin in 11 Metropolitan Census Areas—Numbers and Percentages in the Total Population; Numbers and Percentages of those with a Mother Tongue other than English or French; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada, 1961

	Total population	Population of non-British, non-French origin					
				Mother tongue other than English or French		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Calgary	279,062	107,217	38.4	46,325	43.2	37,208	34.7
Edmonton	337,568	160,644	47.6	83,595	52.0	50,355	31.3
Hamilton	395,189	134,141	33.9	73,258	54.6	59,714	44.5
Kitchener	154,864	81,770	52.8	30,847	37.7	21,397	26.2
Montreal	2,109,509	378,404	17.9	248,485	65.7	212,754	56.2
Ottawa	429,570	65,149	15.1	28,483	43.7	24,814	38.1
Sudbury	110,694	33,598	30.4	21,627	64.4	14,041	41.8
Toronto	1,824,481	655,857	35.9	400,208	61.0	348,993	53.2
Windsor	193,365	62,264	32.2	34,165	54.9	27,378	44.0
Winnipeg	475,989	222,248	46.7	124,729	56.1	71,059	32.0
Vancouver	790,165	268,574	34.0	128,722	47.9	102,021	38.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

Table A-138. Population of Non-British, Non-French Ethnic Origin—Numbers and Percentages in the Total Population; Numbers and Percentages of those with a Mother Tongue other than English or French; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada and Provinces, 1961

	Total population	Population of non-British, non-French origin					
				Mother tongue other than English or French		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Canada	18,238,247	4,701,232	25.8	2,401,483	51.1	1,604,992	34.1
Atlantic Provinces	1,897,425	175,038	9.2	24,006	13.7	18,730	10.7
Quebec	5,259,211	450,800	8.6	280,604	62.2	236,552	52.5
Ontario	6,236,092	1,867,295	30.1	959,613	51.1	770,324	41.3
Manitoba	921,686	441,305	47.9	271,437	61.5	106,885	24.2
Saskatchewan	925,181	491,876	53.1	247,273	50.3	93,443	19.0
Alberta	1,331,944	646,870	48.5	321,266	49.7	180,149	27.8
British Columbia	1,629,082	595,231	36.5	279,428	46.9	196,120	32.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 95-561 and 95-562.

Table A-140. Population of German Origin—Numbers and Percentages with German as their Mother Tongue; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada and Seven Provinces, 1961

	Population of German origin				
	Total	German mother tongue		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	1,049,599	413,382	39.4	287,135	27.4
Nova Scotia	45,441	1,118	2.5	1,615	3.6
Quebec	39,457	22,729	57.6	22,665	57.4
Ontario	400,517	138,751	34.6	112,574	28.1
Manitoba	91,846	54,223	59.0	26,718	29.1
Saskatchewan	158,209	64,254	40.6	27,343	17.3
Alberta	183,314	78,710	42.9	51,244	28.0
British Columbia	118,926	51,493	43.3	42,697	35.9

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

Table A-14L. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the Population of German Origin, by Rural and Urban Areas, and Percentage in each Area with German as their Mother Tongue—Canada and Seven Provinces, 1961

	Population of German origin							
	Total						German mother tongue	
	Rural farm		Rural non farm		Urban		Rural farm %	Urban %
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%		
Canada	203,290	19.4	197,619	18.8	648,690	61.8	42.4	41.5
Nova Scotia	4,873	10.7	24,162	53.2	16,406	36.1	1.9	4.3
Quebec	1,934	4.9	3,200	8.1	34,323	87.0	32.3	61.0
Ontario	53,495	13.3	67,907	16.9	279,315	69.7	32.1	37.3
Manitoba	20,173	22.0	10,648	11.6	61,025	66.4	66.3	58.2
Saskatchewan	59,136	37.4	33,931	21.4	65,142	41.2	42.4	38.9
Alberta	51,513	28.1	24,194	13.2	107,607	58.7	45.2	44.1
British Columbia	11,174	9.4	29,637	24.9	78,115	65.7	57.3	43.6

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table A-142. Population of Ukrainian Origin—Numbers and Percentages with Ukrainian as their Mother Tongue; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada and Six Provinces, 1961

	Population of Ukrainian origin				
	Total	Ukrainian mother tongue		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	473,337	304,752	64.4	110,109	23.3
Quebec	16,588	11,665	70.3	7,440	44.9
Ontario	127,911	74,105	57.9	42,223	33.0
Manitoba	105,372	73,349	69.6	21,531	20.4
Saskatchewan	78,851	57,018	72.3	13,481	17.1
Alberta	105,923	71,804	67.8	19,346	18.3
British Columbia	35,640	15,611	43.8	5,536	15.5

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

Table A-143. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the Population of Ukrainian Origin, by Rural and Urban Areas, and Percentage in each Area with Ukrainian as their Mother Tongue—Canada and Six Provinces, 1961

	Population of Ukrainian origin									
	Total								Ukrainian mother tongue	
	Rural farm		Rural non-farm		Urban		Total		Rural farm %	Rural non-farm % Urban %
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	%	%
Canada	98,943	20.9	65,868	13.9	308,526	65.2	473,337	100	80.8	63.6 59.3
Quebec	234	1.4	540	3.3	15,814	95.3	16,588	100	76.5	53.5 70.8
Ontario	5,079	4.0	10,019	7.8	112,813	88.2	127,911	100	61.9	43.5 59.0
Manitoba	26,708	25.3	14,431	13.7	64,233	61.0	105,372	100	83.1	72.3 63.4
Saskatchewan	32,263	40.9	16,446	20.9	30,142	38.2	78,851	100	81.9	73.7 61.3
Alberta	32,968	31.1	16,064	15.2	56,891	53.7	105,923	100	82.4	70.1 58.7
British Columbia	1,627	4.6	7,517	21.1	26,496	74.3	35,640	100	51.9	40.8 44.2

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table A-144. Population of Italian Origin—Numbers and Percentages with Italian as their Mother Tongue; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada and Six Provinces, 1961

	Population of Italian origin				
	Number	Italian mother tongue		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	450,351	331,499	73.6	265,169	58.9
Quebec	108,552	87,015	80.2	66,600	61.4
Ontario	273,864	204,648	74.7	165,576	60.5
Manitoba	6,476	3,985	61.5	3,356	51.8
Saskatchewan	2,413	1,154	47.8	1,003	41.6
Alberta	15,025	9,454	62.9	7,769	51.7
British Columbia	38,399	23,434	61.0	19,184	50.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

Table A-145. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the Population of Italian Origin, by Rural and Urban Areas, and Percentage in each Area with Italian as their Mother Tongue—Canada and Six Provinces, 1961

Population of Italian origin											
Total									Italian mother tongue		
	Rural farm		Rural non-farm		Urban		Total		Rural farm %	Rural non-farm %	Urban %
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%			
Canada	5,441	1.2	18,418	4.1	426,492	94.7	450,351	100	43.4	49.1	75.1
Quebec	312	0.3	1,251	1.2	106,989	98.6	108,552	100	48.4	37.2	80.8
Ontario	2,526	0.9	8,500	3.1	262,838	96.0	273,864	100	49.3	49.4	75.8
Manitoba	92	1.4	276	4.3	6,108	94.3	6,476	100	19.6	41.7	63.1
Saskatchewan	419	17.4	504	20.9	1,490	61.7	2,413	100	36.0	44.6	52.2
Albert	1,029	6.8	1,267	8.4	12,729	84.7	15,025	100	39.1	49.2	66.2
British Columbia	904	2.4	5,356	13.9	32,139	83.7	38,399	100	41.3	56.9	62.3

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table A-146. Population of Dutch Origin—Numbers and Percentages with Dutch as their Mother Tongue; Numbers and Percentages of Immigrants—Canada and Seven Provinces, 1961

	Population of Dutch origin				
	Number	Dutch mother tongue		Immigrants	
		Number	%	Number	%
Canada	429,679	161,423	37.6	155,630	36.2
Nova Scotia	25,251	2,324	9.2	2,436	9.6
Quebec	10,442	5,337	51.1	5,677	54.4
Ontario	191,017	85,924	45.0	84,778	44.4
Manitoba	47,780	12,349	25.8	8,604	18.0
Saskatchewan	29,325	7,291	24.8	5,017	17.1
Alberta	55,530	23,804	42.9	23,295	42.0
British Columbia	60,176	22,804	37.9	24,066	40.0

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cats. 92-561 and 92-562.

Table A-147. Distribution (in numbers and percentages) of the Population of Dutch Origin, by Rural and Urban Areas, and Percentage in each Area with Dutch as their Mother Tongue—Canada and Seven Provinces, 1961

	Population of Dutch origin									
	Total						Dutch mother tongue			
	Rural farm		Rural non-farm		Urban		Rural farm %	Rural non-farm %	Urban %	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%				
Canada	94,948	22.1	95,624	22.2	239,107	55.6	39.5	31.1	39.4	
Nova Scotia	2,815	11.1	12,312	48.8	10,124	40.1	35.8	4.6	7.4	
Quebec	721	6.9	1,068	10.2	8,653	82.9	58.9	48.2	50.8	
Ontario	37,298	19.5	40,734	21.3	112,985	59.2	54.6	43.0	42.5	
Manitoba	18,508	38.7	7,945	16.6	21,327	44.6	21.3	19.1	32.3	
Saskatchewan	10,643	36.3	6,817	23.2	11,865	40.5	25.5	19.3	27.5	
Alberta	14,361	25.8	7,373	13.3	33,796	60.9	34.9	35.0	48.0	
British Columbia	8,791	14.6	15,445	25.7	35,940	59.7	40.5	34.2	38.9	

Source: Census of Canada, 1961, Cat. 92-561.

Table A-148. Number of Ethnic Publications, by Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1892-1965

	1892	1905	1911	1921	1931	1938	1941	1951	1959	1965
Danish		1	1	1	1				1	2
Dutch									12	10
German	13	11	12	4	8	6	6	5	20	12
Icelandic	4	7	9	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
Norwegian			1	3	2	2	2	1	1	1
Swedish	1	1	2	2	4	2	2	2	2	3
Germanic language group	18	20	25	13	18	13	13	11	39	30
Polish		1	1	2	2	3	3	3	4	6
Russian					1	1	1	1	2	3
Ukrainian		1	1	6	7	10	9	8	36	33
Other Slavic groups					1	2	1	2	14	12
Slavic language group		2	2	8	11	16	14	14	56	54
Italian			2	5	3	2	3		8	11
Portuguese									1	3
Romance language group			2	5	3	2	3		9	14
Baltic groups										
Chinese		1	1	1	2	3	2	1	10	8
Finnish		1	1	1	2	3	3	2	5	6
Greek								2	4	6
Hungarian		1	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	5
Japanese		2	2	2	1	1	1	1	6	9
Jewish		2	2	3	9	13	11	12	2	3
Others		1	1						12	15
Other language groups			8	8	17	21	18	18	44	57
Total	18	22	37	34	49	52	48	43	148	155

Source: Adie, "The Ethnic Press."

Table A-149. Circulation of Ethnic Publications, by Ethnic Origin—Canada, 1905-1963

	1905	1911	1921	1931	1939	1963
Danish	1,000	1,000	1,500	4,000	4,000	6,000
Dutch						30,000
German	32,000	43,000	40,000	26,000	34,000	100,000
Icelandic	6,000	8,000	7,500	9,000	9,000	6,000
Norwegian		5,000	7,000	12,000	11,000	6,000
Swedish	2,500	11,500	8,500	11,500	14,500	7,000
Germanic language group	41,500	68,500	64,500	62,500	72,500	155,000
Polish	2,000	8,000	15,000	21,000	22,000	23,000
Russian				5,000	5,500	4,000
Ukrainian		18,000	42,000	60,000	68,000	140,000
Other Slavic groups				11,000		46,000
Slavic language group	2,000	26,000	57,000	97,000	95,500	213,000
Italian		3,000	7,000	16,500	22,000	120,000
Portuguese						20,000
Romance language group		3,000	7,000	16,500	22,000	140,000
Baltic groups						28,000
Chinese						20,000
Finnish		1,000	5,000	6,500	14,500	15,000
Greek				2,000	6,000	18,000
Hungarian		1,500		11,000	10,000	45,000
Japanese						8,000
Jewish	2,000	9,000	35,000	93,000	121,000	100,000
Others						
Other language groups	2,000	11,500	40,000	112,500	151,500	234,000
Total	45,500	109,000	168,500	288,500	341,500	742,000

Source: Audit Bureau of Circulation, *Canadian Advertiser*, Fact File of Canada Ethnic Press Federation.

Table A-150. Number of Programme Hours Broadcast in other Languages on English and French AM Radio Stations, by Language of Broadcast—February 7-13, 1966

English-language stations	Arabic	Croatian	Czech	Danish	Dutch ¹	Estonian	Finnish	German	Greek	Hungarian	Italian	Japanese	Lithuanian
Quebec	:55	2:01	:15	:19	2:42	:30	3:30	27:28	17:21	3:30	81:20	:30	:28
Ontario					:30			4:43	7:51	1:30	20:35		
Manitoba	:55	2:01	:15		1:25	:30	3:30	12:35	9:30	1:55	60:15	:30	:28
Saskatchewan					:30			6:25					
Alberta				:19	:17			:30					
British Columbia								1:15		:05			
								2:00					
French-language stations				1:00	1:00		:15	19:58	5:55		8:59		
Quebec													
Ontario					1:00		:15	14:58	5:55		4:14		
Manitoba								2:30			1:00		
Saskatchewan													
Alberta				1:00				2:30			2:45		
Total	:55	2:01	:15	1:19	3:42	:30	3:45	47:26	23:16	3:30	90:19	:30	:28

¹ Includes broadcasts in Flemish.

Table A-150. (cont'd.)

	Macedonian	Norwegian	Polish	Portuguese and Spanish	Russian	Serbian	Slovak	Swedish	Ukrainian	Yiddish and Hebrew
English-language stations	1:00	:30	5:53	3:40	1:00	1:30	:15	:20	23:48	3:25
Quebec			4:20	1:30			:15		4:01	3:25
Ontario	1:00		1:33	2:10		1:30			8:12	
Manitoba									1:00	
Saskatchewan					:30				2:40	
Alberta		:30						:20	7:40	
British Columbia					:30				:15	
French-language stations			5:00	1:30					4:00	1:00
Quebec			1:00	1:00					2:00	
Ontario			1:30						1:00	1:00
Manitoba			1:00							
Saskatchewan			1:00	:30					1:00	
Alberta			:30							
Total	1:00	:30	10:53	5:10	1:00	1:30	:15	:20	27:48	4:25

Source: Board of Broadcast Governors.

This Bibliography contains only those works referred to in the text of the *Report* and the research studies on relevant topics which were carried out for the Commission. The three volumes prepared by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, entitled *Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada: A Bibliography of Research* (Ottawa, 1960-66), supply further information on the subject.

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